going to Haapai. Later, returning to his old master, he was driven away. 565
Anciently he might have been executed. 361
686

The matapule usually dwelt close to the chiefs to whom they were at-
tached, as did also certain *tua* who performed menial tasks, such as cooking. 565
361
Many establishments of chiefs constituted fair-sized settlements. 621

The rank of male tenants (heads of families) of *api* in several localities, 565
as recorded in 1920, is shown in Table 8. It will be noted that chiefs are 361
relatively most numerous in Lifuka and Tongatabu, the seats of govern- 554
ment. Though a different classification might be made by other informants, 592
the figures probably give a fair idea of the relative numbers of the three 162
classes among tenants, and of the local variation which prevails.

TABLE 8. RANK OF TENANTS AT VARIOUS LOCALITIES

	CHIEFS	MATAPULES	COMMONERS
Pangai, Lifuka	14	49	133
Hihifo, Lifuka	16	40	104
Holopeka, Lifuka	1	9	8
Koulo, Lifuka	2	18	30
Lifuka as a whole	33	116	275
Fangaleounga, Foa	0	1	3
Fotua, Foa	1	2	22
Lotofoa, Foa	6	23	54
Faleloa, Foa	1	27	31
Foa as a whole	8	53	110
Fotuhaa Island	2	1	43
Uiha, Uiha (*tofia* of Malupo)	3	23	109
Kolovai, Tongatabu (*tofia* of Ata)	18	10	74
Atata Island (*tofia* of Ata)	1	1	8

In the former Tongan population there was evidently a still lower ele- 567
ment than the commoners, the *popula* (slave, prisoner). Anciently these [727]
people seem to have been largely war prisoners; one informant said they
were conquered chiefs and matapule who were enslaved. Through the ef- [797]
forts of the missionaries, this class distinction has been completely elimin- [178]
ated, but certainly some commoners to-day are the descendants of chiefs [565]
whose political stars fell. A term apparently synonymous in part with *popula* is *hopoate*. It is sometimes used to-day with the meaning of stranger; for example, shipwrecked people from Futuna are *hopoate*, but are treated as guests, not as slaves.

I doubt if matapule can appropriately be called a rank at all. It is 565
an office to which men are appointed from among the higher non-chiefly [554]
families and the rank of a matapule would vary according to the rank of the chief by whom he was appointed and whom he served. Likewise, chieftainship is an office. A chief's relatives are not chiefs in the strict sense of the word, but naturally have a higher social standing than the relatives of

did not see the wall." The term *alaipuke* means "to take the outer works of 725
a fortress"; *tele* means "to charge the enemy from the rear." 726

Public boasting by individual warriors before a combat was a common 701
practice. An important brave would brandish his club before the commander 726
and tell what he would do. It was customary to hold a kava ceremony on [276]
the eve of battle, and during the ceremony the braves would boast, or pledge [574]
themselves to valiant action. It was not unusual for a warrior to boast
that he would kill the first foe that should be slain. This of course pledged
him to rush foremost into the thick of the battle. Occasionally the chief of [276]
the army would give to the champion who pledged himself to such an undertaking
the most important cup of kava, the chief's own cup (17, pp. 142-143).
The first slain enemy was called the *uluafi* (literally, head of fire).

A particularly vindictive and insulting way to kill an enemy was to render 726
him helpless, then drink a coconut while sitting on his prostrate body. This was done by Tupoutoa in slaying Tupouniua in Mariner's time, to avenge the assassination of Tupoutoa's father, the Tui Kanokupolu Tukuaho. The victim was killed not in battle, but was caught unarmed after a bath.

Bodies of troops were classified as *matanga* (company) and *kongakau* 701
(regiment). The number of men in each is not known but it seems likely that *matanga* was the smaller body, as it was comprised of troops commanded by a single chief, and that a *kongakau* presumably comprised two or more *matanga*. However, Baker (2) defines both terms as "regiment" and the Catholic dictionary (46) gives the added meaning of "people of a locality" for the term *kongakau*. The term *kapisi* denotes the wing of an army.

Three *kongakau* are said to have existed anciently in Tongatabu, the *kongakau* of Haamea, of Utulau, and of Matakehe, each consisting of the men of a whole district. King George I made a new *kongakau*, that of Haa Vakatolo. The *kongakau* Matakehe belonged to the Tui Tonga. The other two ancient ones may have been under the Tui Kanokupolu or Tui Haa Takalaua. In a manuscript by the chief Maatu I find references to what may be bodies of troops.

> Haa Vakatolo and Lolopaongo [near Foui, Tongatabu?] are the people (regiments?) who belong on the side of the Tui Kanokupolu. Haamalo [near Lapaha] is on the side of the Tui Tonga. Haamalo Matakehe and Pelehake [near Alaki?] are the people (regiments?) on the side of the Tui Haa Takalaua.

In the early nineteenth century at least, the practice of eating some of 727
the slain enemies had arisen, due, so Mariner (40) says, to Fijian influence. 266
The corpse of an enemy was contemptuously referred to as *pakola*, a Fijian 177
term said to signify "underneath."

The term *fakaulu* denotes the custom of bringing the slain troops of one's 727
(according to a modern informant) own army and placing them before the

house of their god. Thereafter they were buried. Mariner's description (40) 727
indicates that enemy dead were presented as offerings to the gods.

The slaughter of male prisoners, even of those wounded, seems to have been frequent and Mariner gives instances. Near Pea, Tongatabu, is a tract, Fakaveleatenge, named in commemoration of a killing which took place at the order of the war leader Takai. Some of Takai's men had been foraging and decoyed a body of the enemy into a fight, perhaps an ambush. Some of the enemy wounded were brought to a house on the tract mentioned and there slain.

The following quotations from Wilson (66, p. xlvii) refer to the state 411
of the country when Tasman and Cook visited it.

> No weapons were seen by Tasman at Tongataboo; which circumstance, as well as [609]
> their unsuspicious conduct toward strangers so formidably equipped, indicates that they
> had been accustomed to a state of general peace and security. No quarrel occurred [177]
> during this interview; and the Dutch, after having obtained abundance of provisions, but very little water, proceeded to the adjacent islands to the northward.

In Cook's time "weapons of a very formidable nature were then found among them, although they usually went unarmed. Their spears were barbed in a very dangerous manner and their clubs very curiously carved."

In Mariner's time warfare had become general and weapons were much
in evidence. In addition to clubs and spears, bows and arrows were then [177]
used, which seem likely to be an adaptation from Fiji, rather than a fundamental Polynesian weapon the use of which survived only in Tonga.

A short text about the two great matapule, Maliepo (Lauaki) and Molofaha (Motuapuaka) refers to weapons as follows:

> And if the land is dark (at war), then Maliepo and Molofaha will speak to the regiments in case they come along with their burdens, the spear with stingray barb (*taofai*), the headed spear (*taotala*), the owl-headed club (*ualulu*), the eight-faced club or eight-barbed spear (*likuvalu*), the paddle-shaped club (*moungalaulau*), the club (*tui tapavalu*), and the toothed club (*nifoosi*).

Holes (*luoto*) with pointed stakes at the bottom were dug in trails along 725
which it was thought enemies might approach.

WAR STORIES

The following campaign stories obtained from the lips of modern in- 669
formants and from manuscripts are arranged so far as possible in chrono- [124]
logic order. The fighting in the period between the assassination of the [127]
Tui Kanokupolu Tukuaho in 1799 and the appointment of his son Tupou- [128]
toa in 1812 is not included because already covered by other writers. The [173]
following accounts deal chiefly with the campaigns of Tupoutoa and his son Taufaahau, who was appointed Tui Kanokupolu in 1845, and later became King George I.

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

[ca. 1812]

THE WAR OF TAKAI AT FELETOA, VAVAU*

Ulukalala [II] died in Vavau and was buried at Feletoa. His son, Moengangongo, 173 ruled, assisted by the brother of Ulukalala called Naufisi [Finau Fisi]. While Haapai 669 was given to Tupoutoa, the son of Tukuaho, but Moengangongo did not rule long in 726 Vavau. He died very soon and Naufisi ruled in Vavau. He was assassinated by Halaapiapi who then ruled in Vavau. Halaapiapi was assassinated by Paunga, a chief of the Tui Tonga family.

Paunga stirred up war at Vavau against Tupoutoa, who had just been appointed Tui Kanokupolu, because Tupoumalohi, who was Tui Kanokupolu after the besieging of Nukualofa by Ulukalala [II] who is buried at Feletoa, abdicated and retired. And Takai dwelt (or ruled) in Pea, and ruled in Tonga. He spoke to Maafu, Lavaka, and the chiefs of the Haa Havea and Haa Ngatamotua, to Ata and Veehala, to bring Tupoutoa, the father of Taufaahau, and make him Tui Kanokupolu. That was the reason why he was made king [in 1812].

And Takai gave his daughter Pule in marriage to Tupoutoa and they went and dwelt at Lifuka. Paunga of Vavau prepared war against Tupoutoa and they fought and fought but neither was victorious. Tupoutoa went to Haapai on his way to fetch warriors from Takai in Tonga. When Pule heard that Tupoutoa was going, she sent a message to her father Takai: "Tupoutoa is going over to ask you for warriors. See that you grant them." That message was brought and Takai held a promulgation (*fono*) at Pea. He told the people to prepare to receive the visitors and the preparation was made at the green called Vakataumai at Maufanga, Tongatabu. The visitors arrived and food was collected and prepared, and the green was covered with the baskets of of food so great was the quantity. It was portioned out twice, then told to be portioned out three times, and finally the dividing reached seven times. That reception was called Lofitu (seven times).

After the reception Takai arranged with Tupoutoa for Tupoutoa to go to Haapai, while he prepared his warriors and then he would follow. Tupoutoa went to Haapai and assembled all the Haapai troops at Lifuka. Word was then sent from Lifuka to Nomuka that as soon as the canoes arrived from Tonga a message was to be sent. When the voyagers arrived at Haapai everything was ready. A house had been built on the beach, half by the people of Huluipaongo and half by the people of Koulo. [Huluipaongo and Koulo are respectively at the southern and northern ends of Lifuka Island.] And they cooked the pigs and cut them up. All the backs of the pigs were taken and put on the top of the ridge of the house. They wanted to outdo the reception Lofitu.

After that, they sailed for Vavau and upon reaching it commenced the siege of the fortress of Feletoa. When Takai knew that they had conquered the fortress, he asked Tupoutoa, "What is to be done? Are they to be exterminated or taken alive?" And Tupoutoa answered, "Let them live." The fortress capitulated and its inmates [727] were taken alive.

And Tupoutoa said, "Takai, I have nothing to reward your army with. I will leave it to the people of the fortress to seek something for you." They [presumably Takai's troops] destroyed all the look-out places, like Kafoa, and they split the stones, which caused the chiefs [of Feletoa] to be angry with them. And they [the people of the fortress] arranged to assassinate Takai and his people. When it was dark an old woman came and awakened Takai and said: "Oh, Takai, you sleep, but here are the chiefs of this fort arranging to assassinate you in the morning, when you go to the morning kava. In the morning, when it was beginning to get light, Takai called an old woman, his servant, to come. He scolded her, and passed his club to and fro. The people saw and said: "The club of Takai has a longing for food." Suddenly he hit the woman and killed her, and cut her up. The guilty chiefs and people were ter-

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* Translated by Beatrice Shirley Baker, from account as told by Malio Ahio, and recorded by Bishop Joseph Felix Blanc (33, pp. 77-80, August, 1906).

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

[1812 - 1845]

them to Tonga and Haapai and appointed a ruler there; but Tupoutoa was the king 173
over all and he came and dwelt at Haapai. After a short time Tonga rose up and 669
the different chiefs of the different forts united. The chief Takai was the strongest 726
so he ruled. After a little while he became ill and died, and his brother Fae ruled in his place. The chiefs of the forts, Pea, Houma, Nukualofa, Hule, Kolofoou, Vaini, and Fuaamotu and some others were still in union. Tupoutoa brought the warriors of Vavau and went and again fought Tonga. That battle was fought at Pea. The king moved and dwelt at Ango and kept on the fight against Pea. It is said if they had been at a distance from each other they would have been overcome, but because they were so near, the people of Pea were like lions fighting.

There were some Europeans with the king and his army and they told him how [177]
to make European guns by splitting the nut trees and hollowing them out; then putting
in gun powder to shoot into the earth fortification of the fort, so that it would slide [713]
and then the warriors would be able to enter the fort. It was done. There were three 173
vessels with the Talinofo, the vessel of Haano. They did a lot of work. They tied 725
them as is done in the making of the fence of a fort, so as to be strong when the 669
shots came from the fort. They tried to undermine the fortifications. The people in 726
the fort tied reeds and coconut pods together and set fire to them and threw them so that the sappers were burned and were not able to undermine the fortifications. If it had not been for this they might have succeeded.

One vessel which was not firmly fastened was almost drawn into the fort. There [411]
was a gun in the fort and the chief Otunuku of Haano was wounded by it in the face and died. That chief was the strong man of that band of warriors. He was brought away and Fuapau commanded that he be taken to Haano. He was taken in his canoe by the brave Mohuniu and that took away many people to do it. Then the vessel returned to Tonga. And it is said that the siege by vessel continued because the use of the vessel was drawing it to plant fences in a line. In one battle there was a party of Pea warriors lying in ambush and when returning they met the scouts of the king's warriors from Haapai, who killed the brave warrior from Pea of whose bravery they boasted. His name was Fakahau (like a king). He was killed by Longani (*longa*, a resting place; *ni*, this). And there was another brave warrior named Tuuiahau who was very swift footed. For the least thing he would club a person. He was killed by
the warrior Telasili. Many were killed from the army of Pea. And when Tupoutoa 173
saw that so many of the famous warriors of the fort were killed, he ended the war. He 669
made peace with the enemy, but it was not a true peace, because neither side was beaten. [728]

The king's army was disbanded and some went to Vavau and some to Haapai; [727]
and the king brought his vessels and drew them up at Mua. The Tui Kanokupolu was taken sick and lay down and continued to get worse, so he commanded that he
should be taken to Maufanga, the city of refuge, and he and his attendants removed 173
there. He knew perhaps that he was dying for he sent privately to the chiefs of his 643
party who were at Mua for them to draw down the vessels into the sea. It was 763
done, and the vessels were launched, but they were afraid that there would be war. As soon as the vessels were launched they loaded at once, as he had sent word that they were to go to Pangaimotu. It looked as though he knew the time that he would leave this world. He sent word that a small canoe was to be sent for him, and it came towards evening. He was taken at once to the canoe and few knew whether he died at Maufanga or in the canoe or at Pangaimotu. This occurred in 1820.

And I would say that Tupoutoa did this out of love for his people lest they 173
should be held at Tonga if it became known that he was dead. He did this so that 643
his people could get away to Haapai. Then word was sent to Tonga that Tupoutoa 764 -
was dead. Then all the vessels came and anchored at once. One army came from Hihifo. They came to carry down Tupoutoa's body, but when they arrived all was ready and the chiefs thanked them for coming and told them to return to Hihifo as they would take Tupoutoa's corpse to Uiha themselves. And it was reported that [the people of] Tonga would come, but they only came for the ceremony of preparing cooked coconuts for their dead king, whom they were taking away; but the people

[1812-1845]

finished the vessel returned to Haapai and reported that the fort of Nukualofa had 173 been dug. Taufaahau told the men to go and beach the vessel at Haano and repair it. 669 It was then brought and they went to Vavau. The name of the vessel was the Tausala. 726 The vessel arrived at night and all Vavau assembled to receive it. Taufaahau told of the report that had come from Tonga concerning the digging of the fort. He also told them that he was going at once to Tonga. They stayed one night, then sailed (after the Sabbath). They anchored at Fakaamumei, Lifuka Island, landed there, and went to Pangai. Tutoe was told to go and have the Sabbath at Haano and return early on Monday and Taufaahau told Lausii and many of the warriors of Taufaahau to proceed in the vessel Vahaafonua to Haafeva and that he would follow in the Tausala. We anchored at Haafeva. From there he told us to sail to Tungua. There we took on board a man called Vaea and some others. Then we set sail and went to Tonga. That was New Year's Eve.

At dawn we were tacking between Pangaimotu and Fafa islands. It was difficult because there was a north wind. [502] The vessel of the king turned and went before the wind past the sunken reef near Maufanga. The people from the fort went down to the shore and beat drums and shouted abusive language. They shouted, "The surprise attack has been overtaken by the day." We arrived at Nukualofa and remained quiet as it was the Sabbath, although all Tonga had assembled at Maufanga during the Sabbath.

The army landed at Fongoloa when the tide was out. One was wounded but none killed. We cleared the outside of the fort and after that we went up to Takoto. When we returned it was dark. In the morning we went and brought the chief Fohe from Puke and then we rested a little. A message was brought that we were to go to the mount (*sia*) in Nukualofa; i.e., to Mt. Zion. There the army was told that they were to storm the fortress Ngeleia. And Taufaahau spoke and said to leave Ngeleia to him and his vessels or warriors. While Nukualofa's army went and looked from the *tavahi* tree to see if there was any army coming from Maufanga, Taufaahau's army went to Takoto and Taufaahau again spoke to the army there. He told them to raise their hands and swear that there would be no one allowed to escape from the fort (Ngeleia). They were told to go by the marshes and then to rush into the fort. It was a dangerous place that the army rushed into, marshy and overgrown with prickly grass and difficult to walk on. Notwithstanding this, they stormed the fort and all the people of the fort were killed. The brave warriors from Pea that were hostile to Nukualofa were killed. Kaufusitua who left Haapai because he was angry with Taufaahau was killed. Taufaahau's warriors took all the wealth (mats, tapa, etc.) and seized the spoil and returned to Nukualofa. [This massacre took place in 1837, at least eight years after Taufaahau had become a Methodist and two years after he had preached his first sermon.]

After a time we were told one day to go to the sand banks on the way to Hihifo, and to go openly. We were seen by the fort called Hule. They waited till they had heard from the other forts, so as to know all about the army that was outside the fort. A large vessel was anchored near the sand banks. It was a ship that Vuki had brought from Fiji. They were told to burn it with fire and the army went on to Teekiu. They went openly, not secretly. They went up from the sea and rushed on the fortress of Motuapuaka called Kolovai (in Teekiu). It looked as though the [people of the] fort had overslept themselves. There was no shouting or shooting or spearing. We bruised and took them alive. Only one man was killed and he because he was abusive to Taufaahau because he came so often from Haapai. Another was shot by Salo. The people were led captive through the sand banks and 173 the spoil was taken away. There was much wealth in the fort (tapa, mats, etc.). 727 The army was pleased with the spoil. But Taufaahau spoke and said, "You must 669 pardon, but you must collect the goods of Motuapuaka and his friends and bring them here, because they are poor. Bring the goods for them to have." No one took anything away. We came to Nukualofa and repaired the fort and dwelt there. We did not seek any more war.

[1812 - 1845]

landed the wind blew like a hurricane and in the morning they looked out and saw a 173
vessel anchored at Tufaka. They poled their vessel there, as they thought that it 669
was the Tui Haapai's ship. But it was only Paul Halaevalu's vessel. Then they 726
poled the two vessels from Muifonua (Land's-end) to Nukualofa. By now it had
become calm.

Unexpectedly Veikune and Taufavaivai arrived from Vavau in the vessel called
Tunulousi, so the vessels from Haapai and Vavau all came in one after the other.
The army was prepared for the Hihifo campaign. They went and beseiged the fort
of Hihifo and the people in the fort remained inside, while the armies remained
separate. Some scouts from the Vavau army went out. One Haapai man called
Soko, the son of Tahifisi, went with them. There were some people that came out
of the fort. Among them was a very big man whom Soko killed. We heard them
calling "Fight," as the place where we were was not very far away. We said,
"It is with the Lord," as Taufaahau's army were Christians. There was a fight and a
brave warrior called Tavalu rushed and beat upon the gate of the fort and the
army surrounded it. Meanwhile the enemy remained inside. No one seemed to wish
to come outside. Tui Haapai (Taufaahau) told the warriors not to wait till they
saw a man before firing, but when a hand was seen to fire, or a foot was seen to fire,
or any other part of the body was seen to fire. Fire at anything seen above the [725]
mud fortifications. This was how the fort was treated. They came to make peace
from Foui, and when they arrived the inmates of the fort did not fire, but stood
round the fortification fence and talked of their strength. In the evening Tui Haapai
told the warriors to go and surround the fort. Lest some should escape, he divided his
forces, so that there was a watch till daylight and he told them should there be
any deserters not to kill them. This was a very good idea. If it had not been for
this the people of the fort would have escaped during the night. Any person coming
singly they tied alive. There came out of Ata's fort a man and woman to flee, but
when they got outside they saw that the fort was surrounded and so they returned
into the fort. Only Vahai and a very few escaped. They came and looked about for
any place where there was no sentry, then they fled at that point and went to Houma.
At daybreak the army entered the fort but no one was killed. Ata and Papa and all 173
the people of the fort were taken alive. Tui Haapai commanded that none should be 669
killed. Ata and Papa's goods were not taken and only a very few things were lost. 726
There has never been a chief in Tonga from the olden times that had war like that, in
which he saved the lives of the conquered and gave them back their goods. Their 727
lives were saved and their goods returned. In former times should the enemy live
their goods were confiscated by the victor. (The people of Haapai and Vavau were
Christians and now they had taken from the heathen their bread.) Some youths
stole, but it was not the wish of Taufaahau. Each went with his friend by the command
of Ata and Papa to Nukualofa and that ended that war. As Mua was not in
it or Houma, but only Hihifo, it was the war of Ata and Vahai.

Then the chiefs of Haapai and Vavau were told to return, but Tui Haapai and 173
a few remained at Tonga, lest there be another disturbance of the peace like the 669
war of Hihifo. Houma collected Hihifo's fishing canoes at the weather shore. It
was not known who smashed them, but they thought that it was Houma that did it. 726

The Hihifo people waited and planned a war on Houma. Taufahema, that brave
warrior who was said to have died at Malama of the wounds that he had received
on his face, still lived, and it was he that came and fought for Hihifo at Foui. He
came in contact with the army of Houma and was shot as though it was a planned
assassination. Then the Hihifo army was chased and Peter Ahomee was caught and
taken alive to Houma with some others. That war did not last long, as Taufaahau
did not like having war stirred up like that. It was done while Taufaahau was
away at Vavau and the report that was brought to him was that the Tui Kanokupolu
Josiah Tupou was dying. He sailed back, calling at Haapai. When he 173
arrived at Tonga, the king was dead, having died on November 18, 1845. After 643
the funeral the chiefs of Tonga waited for the coming of Taufaahau to appoint

[1845 - 1865]

him Tui Kanokupolu. The ceremony of the appointment was held at the Pangai green at Kolovai on December 4, 1845. There is a saying, in reference to the appointment ceremony, "His back has rested on the koka tree." Taufaahau, now Tui Kanokupolu George Tupou I, dwelt at Nukualofa thereafter. 173 643

The following boat song (*tauaalo*) of Taufaahau's makes obvious the important part he played in Tongan affairs before he became Tui Kanokupolu.

Haapai 'e tefua ki Fanganono	Haapai assemble at Fanganono	[533]
Kau alu ki Tonga 'o fakatonu	While I go to Tonga to put to rights	[539]
Liu mai ke ta motulotu	Return and cut in two	

TAUFAAHAU'S GUNS [A]

Laufilitonga, who became the last Tui Tonga, lived at the fortress of Velata in Lifuka, Haapai. Taufaahau lived at the same time in Pangai, on the same island. Velata was a double-walled, double-ditched fortress. A protracted struggle ensued between these rivals for power, ending in victory for Taufaahau. Taufaahau is said to have been the aggressor. Many people were killed in the struggle, but captives were spared. With Laufilitonga was the important chief Tui Haa Teiho. 173 669 726 [712] [727]

Whilst the war was being fought at Velata, Taufaahau went in a small vessel (*faalalo* or *tafaanga*) to Eua, to the chief Kaufana, to get some guns. He got the guns, left that small vessel in Eua, and proceeded in a vessel called the Tuingatu-ki-tonga. He arrived at Laulea, at the weather shore of Fatumu, Tongatabu. He went up to the place of a chief called Kanongataa to interview him, and when he arrived the place was deserted; the chief was away at Fuaamotu, preparing his warriors to receive Taufaahau. And Taufaahau went there to him with his men and they met and Kanongataa and the chiefs wanted to detain him for the night, while some food was prepared for them, but Taufaahau thanked them and said that he must go, as the mission was dangerous.

After they had left Fuaamotu, Taufaahau said to his men: "If there is a man amongst you, escape." Taufaahau was the first to reach Lotuma. He waited there till his men came. They went from there to Vaini to visit Maafu who was blind. Maafu asked them where they had been. Taufaahau replied that they had been to see Kaufana to seek guns. Maafu said, "Draw near so that I can touch you," and he wished that he could see him. In that year was born at Eua a grandson of Maafu, and he was called Amusia-ae-a (I envy those that see). (He was still alive in 1918.)

And Taufaahau went from Vaini to Nukuhetulu and he tried to get a vessel to bring them to Nukualofa. He entered a house in which a man was sleeping and awoke him. The man asked, "Who are you?" He answered, "It is I, Taufaahau," and the man fainted with terror. Then he shook the man till he revived. And he said to him, "Don't be afraid," and he asked him, "Do you know of a vessel." The man answered, "I know of a vessel that is anchored at Houmaniu (the shore of Nukuhetulu). Taufaahau said, "Cut the rope and come and take us." He told him to go straight to Pahau and they reached there. They went to the place of the king Aleamotua.

The sun had just risen and the king asked where had they been. Taufaahau answered, "We have been to Eua to seek some guns." Just then a small double vessel arrived from Haapai and they went on board and sailed for Haapai and finished the war at Velata with the Tui Tonga.

[A] /Taufaahau later became King George I Tupou--Analyst/

[1832-1834]

Then Taufaahau went to receive instructions from Ulukalala. And Finau said 173
Maheuliuli, Taufaeilaolao, Pomaui, Ngutu, and some others were to die. Taufaahau 797
said, "All right," and he came and told me the command of Finau as to the people 798
who should be executed.

I said, "It is more in keeping with you, that they should not die, as that is the 669
way of the new order of things, and they have been conquered by you two." 727

He replied to me, "Well! speak to Ulukalala, as the troops have come with [178]
weapons to put them to death."

And I sat down in Ulukalala's presence and said, "Finau!" And he turned towards me, and I said, "Pardon me while I speak. It is not in keeping for me to speak to you, but you must forgive me and remember our Lord and also Taufaahau and not let anything come to pass, because of Taufaahau and also yourself. Don't do any murder, as it is bad for Christianity. If it is desirable, let them sail for some other country."

And Finau answered, "All right! You and Taufaahau please yourselves, as you are wise, but how many are the warriors of Maheuliuli?"

Just then Taufaahau came and said to him, "You say to spare their lives. Did they not fight the Haapai warriors and did I not go and bring them like a man servant?"

And after Finau had spoken for some time, Taufaahau said, "I will go and come back with them." And Taufaahau went out and beckoned to some men to go and
bring them. Tavake came and sat on his (Taufaahau's) knees and Maheuliuli rested [516]
against his back and Lausii rested on Maheuliuli's back, while Ngutu squeezed himself under Taufaahau's knees.

While Taufaahau wept for the men, I sat and begged, "It is not in keeping with your profession for them to die, and if they are to die let them die somewhere else, so that we may be clear." And Finau in anger left and went to the beach, but he followed my suggestion, that they should be allowed to sail away. And word was brought that Finau had commanded that the Lofanga vessel should be got ready for Lua and his family to sail in and that the vessel from Leimatua was to be brought for us as it was bigger.

And early in the morning the chiefs went and sat with lowered heads in the presence of Finau, while Finau said to Lua, 'Go to any place where you can get together a few warriors." He meant it chiefly for those that should have died, and after that the vessel was got ready by the Vavau people. Taufaahau was the one that was kind and gave them the vessel and the provisions and the chiefs were led down to the sea, and put on board and they sailed and they only knew when at sea, that the ropes were cut off the mast, so they called in at Hunga and mended them and then sailed to Moungaone and anchored there, then left for Tongatabu.

[In 1833 Ulukalala IV died and Taufaahau was appointed Tui Vavau by the chiefs of Vavau, thus carrying out Ulukalala's dying wish.]

TAUFAAHAU'S CAMPAIGN AGAINST UIHA

Uiha Island, together with Tungua and Nomuka, was one of the last 797
of the Haapai group to accept Christianity. Taufaahau visited Uiha in 798
1833 and sought to introduce Methodism, but the chiefs and people declined to accept it. In 1834 he again visited Uiha and by a stratagem imposed the new religion. When he arrived many of the people were fishing. He professed friendliness and induced 160 of the men to sail to Vavau to obtain pigs for him. By prearrangement these men were made prisoners in Vavau. Deprived of the bulk of her fighting men, Uiha could not resist the destruction of her temples and the imposition of the new religion.

Veamatahau, Vea, from Matahau. T,H,V
Veaniua, Vea from Niuatoputapu. T
Veatama, the child who is a chief.
Veatokelau, the chief from the north, Vea of the north.
Veatoki, a strong chief.
Veatonga, Vea from the south.
Veatoutai, Vea the chief of fishermen. T
Veatupu, Vea the strong; a chief that is distinguished. T, H, V
Veehala, the side of the road; not in step; to step wrong (as in a dance). T,V
Veekalifisi, the feet of the wooden pillow from Fiji.
Veetokelau, the feet that come from the north; foot of the north.
Veetutu, the feet that beat time in the dance. H
Vehikite, something that appears in sight. T,V,NT
Veikune, a good chief. T,H,V
Vela, hot; to burn; to scald. NT
Velevelu, the good that comes quickly.
Velia, itchy.
Velovelo, throw the dart (it was the cry of the warriors when fighting). T
Vesi, verse. T
Vete, to seize the spoil of a conquered foe; to disburden; the name of a fish. T 551
Vetule, to jog along, as one old or weak. H
Veua, two things.
Vi, the name of a tree and its fruit. T, H, V, NT, NF
Viau, something of mine. H,NF
Vika, Victoria. H
Vikaheilala, Victoria of the *heilala* tree.
Vikatoa, a whole *vi* fruit; all the *vi* fruit. V
Vikena, the *vi* fruit that is reddish when ripe. T,H
Vilai, a bean. T
Vili, a gimlet; to drill; to go quickly. T
Viliami, William. T
Vilingia, to be blown away; to be blown. H
Vivi, the name of a grass; dead; stinking. V, NT
Vivili, to feel; to be conscious of. NT
Vola, a fast dye. H
Vuki, something at a distance. H,V
Vulase (a Fijian word).
Vuna, a real chief. T
Vunaila, a chief with a scar.
Vungakoto, the step upon which the mast of the vessel stands. V

THE OUTLYING ISLANDS

Although little was added to the previous knowledge concerning the 128
expansion of the Tongans beyond the limits of the modern kingdom of
Tonga, some light was obtained as to the peopling of some of the remoter
islands of the Tongan Archipelago proper. The islands I refer to in par- [103]
ticular, named from north to south, are Fonualei, Toku, Late, Kao, and Ata
or Pylstaarts. The first is now a hopeless wreck due to volcanic activity. 133
Toku, Late, Kao, and Ata are no longer inhabited. Late and Kao are high [162]
volcanic islands. Ata is high and presumably volcanic. Toku is low and
according to Tongan informants coralline. Most of my information con- 128
cerns Ata. Before taking up that island I shall first discuss the brief
data concerning the others. As will appear, these outlying islands some- [727]
times served as havens for the politically disfavored. (See Harangue about [166]
Mumui, p. 156, in which the poet exclaims, "Exile me to Toku Island.")

Toku and Fonualei were held by a single group of people. Toku seems 162
to have been the residence center and Fonualei the farming center, the 311
Toku people utilizing Fonualei for gardens, perhaps because of the volcanic

[Toku, Fonualei, and Kao Islands]

soil. The population of Fonualei became so large and permanent that a 162
church was erected there. The maximum figures for the two islands were 311
one hundred souls on each in the time of the chief Abraham Tangaloa.
However, the fertile land of Fonualei became a desert waste with the volcanic [731]
eruption of 1846. The people removed to Toku in time to avoid loss of life. 162
Later the entire Toku population was moved to the Vavau group proper 166
by the missionaries, for convenience in church attendance. Their descendants [797]
seem to reside principally at Utulei, Pangaimotu Island.

The Toku people were political exiles from Haamea in the central district 727
of Tongatabu. The people of Haamea fought the Hihifo people during 166
the reign of the Tui Kanokupolu Mataeletuapiko and were overcome. 175
They fled to Toku under the leadership of the Haamea chiefs Tukutukuholoipangai,
Ofakehokomaikaetau, and a third chief. Talafaiva, daughter of the
Tui Haa Takalaua and (later?) wife of the Tui Tonga Uluakimata I
(Telea) was with them. The refugees were all of the Haa Takalaua and it [669]
seems likely that the struggle between Haamea and Hihifo was but a part
of the Tui Kanokupolu's effort to eclipse the Tui Haa Takalaua. It is said
that people from Makave in Vavau went to Toku to help the chiefs from
Haamea. When the Haamea refugees arrived at Toku they found Niuatoputapu
people in possession. These were ordered to leave and did so
peaceably. This settlement of people from Haamea must have occurred
in the seventeenth century if the references to Mataeletuapiko and Talafaiva
are correct.

The son of one of the refugee chiefs from Haamea became the ruler of the Toku people under the title of Tangaloa. The last Tangaloa was Abraham Tangaloa of Utulei, Pangaimotu Island. The Tui Kanokupolu appointed the Tangaloa. The second Tangaloa bore the personal name of Katainatoa.

The god of the Toku people was incarnate in the *tukuhali* or sea snake, 776
I could not learn the name of the god or the title of the priest. The Toku 825
incarnation of the god fell into a well. The well was in consequence filled 823
and a new one dug for use.

Tradition names the top of Kao Island, Haapai, as the site of a village, 823
a statement which is pure fiction, as I learned by climbing to the summit, [173]
3380 feet above sea level. A woman there one day said she was going for [361]
a walk. She intended to visit one of the coral islands which seemed to lie
so close below that one could step over to it. She threw down her bundle
of mats, then followed it, and was dashed to pieces on the rocks below. This
tale is evidently told to illustrate the extreme steepness of Kao.

The ancient settlement on Kao was near the shore, not at the summit. 361
The shore settlement was probably on the northwestern side, nearest Tofua.

[Tofua, Late, and Ata Islands]

Early voyagers speak of Tofua as inhabited. An old woman, living on 162
Kotu Island in 1920, was the last inhabitant of Tofua. She was removed 888
by force by her relatives, who feared she was becoming too old to care for 602
herself and that the dogs might eat her, if she became disabled. 825

Late Island, a volcanic cone lying west of the coralline Vavau group, 162
was formerly inhabited. The Late people and their descendants now live [133]
on Hunga Island in the Vavau group. Late served at times as a place of [166]
refuge for political exiles. Fukofuka, a Vavau chief, who incurred the disfavor [727]
of a great Vavau chief, presumably Ulukalala, fled there and sought
in vain to oppose the troops sent for him.

The people of Late seem to have had a quarrel of long standing with 628
the people of Moungaone Island, in Haapai, for each group seems to have
attacked the other at times. The fortress of Amaka on Late was built for [712]
refuge against Moungaone raids. The chief of Late bore the title of Totolate. [622]
There is one at present. He was appointed by the Tui Kanokupolu.

ATA ISLAND

My data as to the settling of outlying islands are by far the fullest 131
for Ata Island, lying about ninety miles south of Tongatabu and in latitude
22° 20′, almost at the tropic of Capricorn. Like Toku, Ata was a haven of [166]
safety for the certain political refugees. [727]

Ata was discovered and named Pylstaarts by Tasman in January, 1643, 177
while he was voyaging northward from New Zealand to Tonga. No mention 175
is made of signs of inhabitants and presumably it was not then occupied. [162]
Tongan tradition makes the peopling somewhat later. [175]

By 1791 Ata was inhabited. Thomson (21), discussing the voyage 175
of Captain Edwards in H. M. S. *Pandora*, says: "Running southward, he 162
made Pylstaarts, at that time inhabited by Tongan castaways, and the fact that
he did not stop to examine it, although he saw by the smoke that it was inhabited.
. . ."

In the Voyage of the Duff (65, 66), Ata is mentioned as uninhabited,
which would seem to be a mistake since it was already occupied in
1791. Speaking of the Spanish discoverer Fran. Ant. Maurelle who passed
in March, 1781, the Voyage of the Duff says: "He also saw the high uninhabited [131]
spot, discovered and named Pylstaarts island by Tasman, in latitude
22° 22′, 175° 59′ west longitude. This he called La Sola."

West (62, p. 271) relates the following story about the peopling of 166
Ata: 173

> . . . strange tales are told of one of their chiefs, called Uhila, whose cannibal propensities 266
> had been intensified by a long residence in Fiji. This chief resided at Nomuka;
> but he was in the habit of making sudden descents upon different islands, for the purpose
> of clubbing and kidnapping any of the inhabitants he could lay hold of, with whose

mentions strangling as a form of suicide preceding the custom of disembowel- 622 768
ing. Some wives of the Tui Kanokupolu were strangled at their lord's death 589
(See p. 90.). Mariner relates how his patron Ulukalala II insisted that his [177]
daughter, a widow of the Tui Tonga Fuanunuiava, be spared. It seems 643
doubtful if the *moheofo*, or chief wife of the Tui Tonga, was strangled. 768 589
Tupoumoheofo, widow of the Tui Tonga Pau, certainly was not strangled. [644]
The Female Tui Tonga was not strangled at the death of her brother the
male Tui Tonga, because she was his superior in rank.

Cremation alive of commoners captured in war is attributed to an early 727
Vahai chief of the Hihifo district, Tongatabu, and is said to have taken
place before 1799. The victims were not eaten. The place where the cre- [266]
mation is reputed to have taken place is still called Umutangata (Oven-of-
man).

The *fakafeao* was a man imprisoned alive and left to die in the vault 782 764
with a deceased Tui Tonga, or some member of the Tui Tonga family. 643
When one of the Tui Tonga family was buried, many presents were brought [165]
by all of the chiefs of Tonga. These were interred in the vault with his
body. The matapule acting as undertaker (*haatufunga*) was the only [767]
living person permitted to enter the vault and come out of it alive.
His duty was to place the gifts, as well as properly to dispose of the lowered body. The ranking chief presiding over the funeral affairs would direct his matapule to bring one or two men (commoners) to act as *fakafeao.* Such a man was forced to enter the vault and sit in a corner, and the stone cover was lowered into place and the grave mound erected over it. Or the cover might be suddenly lowered at the command of the presiding chief while the *haatufunga* was still within the vault arranging the gift materials, trapping him to serve the interred as *fakafeao.*

I have a note from the venerable Tamale concerning the painting of the [302]
fakafeao's head with turmeric, which gave rise to the descriptive designation of *uluvali* (painted head) for such doomed individuals. Tamale said that the victims were selected from the Tui Tonga's mother's family, in other words, from the standpoint of the Tui Tonga, from the inferior side of his family. This note may refer to the *fakafeao,* or to other individuals sacrificed at a Tui Tonga's burial besides those interred alive. The term *fakafeao* also applies to the bodies of matapule or other retainers buried at the time of natural death in the earth of the mound outside of the great stone vault.

Perhaps a rationalization is the statement that to have opened the vault once closed would have been to imperil the life of the new Tui Tonga, for the vault was opened only to receive the dead, and the opening up again would be to receive the body of the new Tui Tonga. Hence arises the saying, "Pulu hoo tuku" (Go easy with your letting down). The *haatufunga*

THE ADVENT OF CHRISTIANITY

Thomson (54, pp. 200-203) has well portrayed the situation in Tonga 797
during the period of the conversion to Christianity. As he points out, [622]
resistance to the spread of Christianity came not from the heathen priests
but from the chiefs, who apparently realized that Christianity struck at
the root of their time-honored privileges.

I shall not attempt to trace the spread of Christianity but shall merely [128]
refer to certain interesting incidents in connection with its introduction—
incidents which to some extent reflect the religious attitude of the Tongans.

As far back as the fifteenth century there is traditional record of skepticism 771
as to the power of the gods. I refer to the tradition concerning the Tui
Tonga Kauulufonua I, who cried, "The gods are fools!" when he was
wounded in battle. Mariner dwells upon the skepticism and irreligion of
his patron Ulukalala II, who even went so far as to order the priest of his
god strangled, but who was prevented from having the execution carried
out by his own sudden death, an event which no doubt restored the prestige
of the gods in the minds of many Tongans.

Stories are current that certain of the old gods gave oracles concerning 776
the advent of Christianity and the destruction of the old order. At Pea, 787
Tongatabu, it is related that the house of one god miraculously disappeared 797
overnight, because the deity was provoked over the coming of the new
religion.

The narrative of Peter Vi (3) refers particularly to the part taken by 797
Taufaahau (afterwards King George I) in the destruction of the heathen 798
places of worship. That he was actuated entirely by Christian motives 669
seems unlikely. In any event, murders and wholesale slaughters of the
heathen were indulged in in the name of Christianity. The fortresses of [727]
Ngeleia and Hule were captured and their inhabitants slaughtered (pp. 215,
216). The events related below refer to the period just before and just after
1830. Taufaahau was then the Tui Haapai. He had not yet succeeded to the
rule of Vavau, or to the rule of Tongatabu. About 1829 the following event
took place:

> It was said that Taufa, the Tui Nomuka, was coming to Malupo (of Uiha Island) to get reeds for making spears for Tuita and Lolohea. Taufaahau was to be held while they killed the Christians. Taufaahau was informed of this on the day of the feast of the gods called Tautaulotufonua. The feast was held at the gates of the fortress and boxing and wrestling games, etc., were held. [The killing of the Christians was prevented.]
>
> There were many priests and god houses at Haapai, and Taufaahau said to Peter Vi and some others, "Let us go to the priestess of the god house at Holopeka." When we arrived there we found that she had gone to Faleloa. As we went along the road the king rooted up a big banana plant and carried it along. Peter Vi asked: "What is that for?"
>
> Taufaahau replied, "Something to hit the god with."

principal natives of divers parties, who 128
had been eye-witnesses. The narration of [669]
events being brought down to the period of Mr. Mariner's fortunate escape *, the remainder of the work furnishes a more intimate detail of the state of society in regard to rank and professions; their religious and political government; the names and attributes of their principal gods; their notions of the human soul, and of a future state of existence; an investigation of their moral principles, and of their state of morals; a description of their most important religious ceremonies; an account of the healing art, with a detail of some important surgical operations practised by them; a description of their principal manufactures; their games and amusements; music, songs, &c.; and, lastly, a grammar of their language, and a vocabulary to the

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* The term escape is here used with propriety, for although Mr. M. was well treated, and had every thing that [609]
he could *there* want, the opportunities of returning home [727]
were very rare, and when he was about to profit from one that presented itself, his intention was opposed, and he was under the necessity of destroying one of the natives to accomplish his purpose.

114 qualifications as a narrator, it remains to
furnish a short account of the advantageous
opportunities which fell in his way.
In the first place, it must be stated, that
he was by far the best educated of all
those who survived the capture of the Port
114 au Prince. From the first moment the
123 king of the Tonga islands saw him, he conceived
609 a strong prejudice in his favour,
127 and gave orders to those who had the management
of the conspiracy, that if they
should find it necessary to make a great
slaughter, they were nevertheless to preserve
his life;—this was the commencement
of a friendship which lasted till the
king's death: he gave him a residence
within his own fencing; appointed one of
his wives, a very sensible and well informed
woman, to be his adopted mother, that she
might employ her time in instructing him
in the language and exact customs of the
country: he admitted him to all his conferences
with his chiefs, priests, and matabooles:
at length he adopted him as his
own son, and gave him the name of a favourite
son, (Togi Oocumméa), who had

died a few years before: wherever the king went, Mr. Mariner might accompany him if he chose: in all the battles fought by the king, Mr. Mariner was present. After his death, his son, who succeeded, equally extended to him his patronage and protection, or rather Mr. Mariner might be called his dearest brother, his constant, intimate, and confidential friend; and so sorry was the young king to part with him, that he actually proposed to give up his dominions to his uncle, and accompany Mr. Mariner to England,—a sufficient proof that the latter possessed those qualities of mind calculated to inspire a high degree of confidence and friendship. But perhaps I am anticipating too much of some of the subjects of the following sheets; it appears to me, however, proper to state these things, that the mind of the reader may be prepared, without mistrust, for the quantity of interesting matter which so young a man has collected and remembered. 114 123 609 727

It is now four years since Mr. Mariner's arrival from the West Indies; during which 114 slaughter, rather than by greater delay subject 726 themselves to the cruelties of cooler barbarity. 114 After some hesitation, the cooper consented to follow if Mr. Mariner would lead the way. The latter thereupon went up into the gun-room, and lifting up the hatch a little, saw Tooi Tooi and Vaca-ta-Bolá examining Captain Duck's sword and other arms that were in his bed-place. Their backs being turned, he lifted off 727 the hatch entirely, and jumped up into the cabin: Tooi Tooi instantly turning round, Mr. Mariner presented his hands open, to signify that he was unarmed and at their mercy: he then uttered *aroghah!* (a word of friendly salutation among the Sandwich islanders) and asked him partly in English, and partly in his own language, if he meant to kill him, as he was ready to meet his fate. Tooi Tooi replied in broken English, that he should not be hurt, as the chiefs were already in possession of the ship, but that he wished to be informed how many persons there were below, to which Mr. Mariner answered, that there was only one, and then called up the cooper, who had not followed him the whole way. Tooi Tooi led them upon deck towards one of the chiefs who had the direction of the conspiracy. The first object that struck Mr. Mariner's sight, on coming upon deck, was enough to thrill the stoutest heart: there sat upon the companion a

121 short squab naked figure, of about fifty years of age, with a seaman's jacket, soaked with blood, thrown over one shoulder, on the other rested his iron-wood club, spattered with blood and brains,—and what increased the frightfulness of his appearance was a constant blinking with one of his eyes, and a horrible convulsive motion on one side of his mouth. On another part of the deck there lay twenty-two bodies perfectly naked, and arranged side by side in even order. They were so dreadfully bruised and battered about the head, that only two or three of them could be recognized. At this time a man had just counted them, and was reporting the number to the chief, who sat in the hammock-nettings; immediately after which they began to throw them overboard. Mr. Mariner and the cooper were now brought into the presence of the chief, who looked at them awhile and smiled, probably on account of their dirty appearance. Mr. Mariner was then given in charge to a petty chief to be taken on shore, but the cooper was detained on board.

In his way to the shore the chief took his shirt from his back. The circumstance of his having just escaped death was by no means a consolation to him: reserved for he knew not what hardships, he felt his mind hardened by a sort of careless indifference as to what might

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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happen; if he had any consoling hope at all, it was that he might be going on shore to fall by the club of some sanguinary chief not sated with that day's slaughter. His companions, for ought he knew, were all killed; at least, he was morally certain that himself and the cooper* were the only persons living of all who were on board at the time this most bloody massacre was perpetrated: and as to those, who, from bad or injudicious motives, had left the ship the day before, they were probably, by this time at least, secured, and waiting, like himself, with anxious desire to know whether speedy death or degrading slavery was to be their portion.

In a little while he was landed, and led to the most northern part of the island, a place called Co-oolo, where he saw, without being much affected at the sight, the cause of all that day's disasters, Mr. Brown, the whaling master, lying dead upon the beach: the body was naked, and much bruised about the head and chest. They asked Mr. Mariner, by words and signs, if they had done right in killing him;—as he returned them no answer, one of them lifted up his club

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* There were two others, the boatswain, and one of the crew, who were on board at the time, and also escaped; but they were taken on shore before Mr. Mariner and the cooper made their appearance upon deck. This circumstance he did not know till some time afterwards.

121 to knock out his brains, but was prevented by a superior chief, who ordered them to take their prisoner on board a large sailing canoe. Whilst here, he observed upon the beach an old man, whose countenance did not speak much in his favour, parading up and down with a large club
[104] in his hand. At this time a boy, who had just come into the canoe, pointed to a fire at a little distance, and addressing himself to Mr. Mariner, pronounced the word *máte** (meaning to kill), and made such signs that could give him to understand nothing less than that he was to be killed and roasted: this idea roused him from his state of mental torpor, and gave him some alarm, which was not lessened by the sight of the old man just mentioned, who appeared in no other light than that of an executioner waiting for his victim. About half an hour afterwards a number of people came to the canoe, landed him, and led him towards the fire, near which he saw, lying dead, James Kelly, William Baker, and James Hoay, three of those who had first mutinied. Some hogs were now brought to be cooked; and Mr. Mariner was pretty well undeceived respecting what he had understood from the gestures of the boy in the canoe, who,

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* The word *máte* (pronounced something like *mártay*) is the common word throughout the South Sea Islands for "to kill;" and Mr. M. had learnt it at the Sandwich Islands.

it was now sufficiently evident, merely meant to [121] imply that some of Mr. Mariner's countrymen lay dead where he pointed, and that they were going to roast or bake some hogs there.

From this place he was led towards the island of Foa. On the way they stopped at a hut, where they stripped him of his trowsers, notwithstanding his earnest solicitations to retain them; for he already felt the effect of the sun upon his back, and dreaded a total exposure to its heat. He was now led about bare-footed, and without any thing to cover him, the heat blistering his skin in a most shocking manner. Every now and then some or other of the natives came up to him from motives of curiosity, felt his skin to compare it with their own, or likened it rather (as he afterwards understood) to the skin of a scraped hog, from its whiteness: from malice or rather wantonness they spat upon him, pushed him about, and threw sticks and cocoanut shells at him, so that his head was cut in several places. After having thus tantalized and [291] led him about for a considerable length of time, as fast as the soreness of his feet would permit him to walk, a woman happening to pass near at hand, from motives of compassion gave him an apron made of the leaves of the chee-tree, with which he was permitted to cover himself. Coming at length to a hut, they entered and sat [276]

727 down to drink cava*, putting him in a corner,
276 and desiring him by signs to sit down, it being
576 considered very disrespectful to stand up before
a superior; the principle of which point of etiquette will be explained in another place. Whilst his persecutors were thus regaling themselves, a man entered the hut in great haste; and having said something to the company, took Mr. Ma-
727 riner away with him. As they were going along
634 they met one of the Sandwich islanders, whom
the Port au Prince had brought from Anahooro Bay, who gave Mr. Mariner to understand that Finow, the king of the islands, had sent for him. When he arrived in the king's presence, the king beckoned to him, and made signs that he should sit near him. As he entered the place, the king's women, who sat at the other end of the room, at the sight of him in the deplorable condition in which he was, with one voice uttered a cry of pity, beating their breasts, and exclaiming, *O yaoo! chiodofa!* Alas! poor young man! Fortunately for Mr. Mariner, Finow had taken an extraordinary liking to him from the first moment he had seen him on board; he thought he was the captain's son, or at least a young chief of some consequence in his own country; and

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* An infusion of the root of a species of the pepper plant, the mode of preparing which, and ceremony of drinking it, will be described hereafter in a more proper place.

he accordingly had given orders, that if they 727
found it necessary to kill the white men, they 634
should, at any rate, preserve Mr. Mariner's life.
The king put his nose to his forehead (a mark [576]
of friendly salutation;) and soon after observing
that he was very dirty, and much wounded, he
desired one of his women attendants to take him
to a pond within the fencing of the house, where
he might wash himself. Here he made himself 727
as clean as mere water could make him; but 515
finding the dirt did not come readily off his feet,
she brought some sand, and began to scrub them
with it: when he complained that this hurt him,
she said something, which, at that time, he did
not clearly understand, implying, that such was
the Tonga mode of washing. Being now pretty 727
well washed, he again came in presence of the 634
king, and was sent to the other end of the house, 515
where he was oiled all over with sandal-wood 302
oil, which felt very agreeable, alleviating the
smart of his wounds, and greatly refreshing him.
He now received a mat to lie down on, where,
overcome by fatigue, both of mind and body, he
soon fell fast asleep. During the night he was
awakened by one of the women, who brought
him some baked pork and some yam; but being
somehow prejudiced against the pork, lest it
should be human flesh, he did not taste it, but
ate heartily of the yam, not having tasted anything since breakfast the preceding day.

721 [766] [302] On getting up the next morning, he was much surprised at perceiving every body with their heads shaved: a practice which is always adopted at the burial of Tooitonga, a great personage hereafter to be described, whose funeral was performed that day.

In the course of the morning Finow took him on board the ship, where he was much gratified in meeting several of the crew, who had been ordered on board to bring the ship close in shore. The king's orders being understood, they cut the cables, and worked her in shore, through a very narrow passage, so full of rocks and shoals, that, untried, it would have been considered unnavigable. Through the medium of Tooi Tooi the king had been previously informed, that unless his men (which were about 400 in number) were to sit down, and remain perfectly quiet, it would be impossible to work the ship, the Englishmen being only about fourteen in number. The moment Finow had given orders to his men, he was most implicitly obeyed; they sat down, and not a word was spoken, nor the least perceptible noise made by them during the whole time, no more than if none of them were on board. The ship was brought within half a cable's length of the shore, through the narrow passage just mentioned, and run aground according to Finow's orders.

CHAPTER III.

000 The ship plundered by Finow's orders—Accidents on board—The ship burned—Guns hauled on shore—Visit to the Island of Whiba—Surprise of the natives at the sight of a watch—Mr. Mariner deprived of his books and papers, as being considered instruments of witchcraft—Anecdote of the missionaries—Remarks on the present state of the islands, compared with that when Captain Cook visited them—Political history of the islands during the foregoing twelve or fifteen years, viz. *Expedition to the Fiji Islands—Insurrection at Tonga—Assassination of the king—Civil war—Return of the expedition to the Fiji Islands, which joins the insurgents—Finow conquers the Hapai Islands—His cruelty towards his prisoners—Annual invasion of the Island of Tonga*—Mr. Mariner and his companions receive orders to join an expedition against the Island of Tonga, and to employ the guns—Anecdote of an insane woman—Finow's fleet sails for Namooca—The fleet arrives off a consecrated place at Tonga—Description of a ceremony called Toogi—Preparations for battle—Description of the fortification of Nioocalofa.

721 AFTER the ship was run aground, the following two or three days were employed in striking the masts, and conveying on shore two of the carronades and eight barrels of gunpowder; all that remained was too much damaged for use. Many of the natives, in the mean while, were busily engaged in stripping the upper works of their iron, and knocking the hoops off

727 the casks in the hold; iron being a most valuable commodity to them. During these operations [165] the ground tier of oil, the hoops being knocked off the casks, burst out, and suffocated eight of the natives. In consequence of this great discharge of oil, the water in the hold was covered with it, to the depth of two feet. Two men, who had struggled out of this body of water and oil, strongly expressed their amazement (as they afterwards explained themselves to Mr. Mariner, when he understood their language) at the difficulty they experienced in rising through the oil: they could swim in the water below easily enough, but as soon as they emerged from the water into the stratum of oil above, the less specific gravity of the latter rendered their ascent difficult. They comprehended the reason, however, very well, as soon as he had learned the language sufficiently to explain it to [164] them. Three other men were at the same time severely wounded, by some butts bursting out on them while they were in the act of knocking off the hoops.

727 684 689 761 Finow, observing one of the natives busily employed in cutting out the iron fid from the main top-gallant-mast, and as he was a low fellow, whom he did not choose should take such a liberty, he was resolved to put a stop to his work; so speaking to a Sandwich islander, who

was amusing himself on deck by firing off his 727
musket*, he bade him try to bring that man 634
down from aloft: without the least hesitation 689
he levelled his piece, and instantly brought him 761
down dead: the shot entered his body, and the
fall broke both thighs and fractured his skull;
upon which Finow laughed heartily, and seemed
mightily pleased at the facility with which it
was done. When Mr. Mariner understood the [565]
language, he asked the king how he could be so [252]
cruel as to kill the poor man for so trifling a
fault: his majesty replied that he was only a
low, vulgar fellow (a cook); and that neither
his life nor death was of any consequence to
society†.

On Tuesday, the 9th of December, it being 727
spring-tides, the ship floated, and was warped in to low water mark. In the evening they set fire to her, in order to get more easily afterwards at the iron work. All the great guns on board were loaded, and as they began to be heated by the general conflagration they went off, one after another, producing a terrible panic among all the natives. Mr. Mariner was, at

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[*] The Sandwich islanders are pretty well acquainted with the use of fire-arms: their chief had, at that time, 2000 stand of muskets, procured at different times from American ships.

[†] The lower orders are thought to have no souls, and a cook [774]
is considered the most vulgar profession among them; while [335]
a carpenter is esteemed the most respectable. [554]

this time, asleep at a house near the shore: being soon, however, awakened by the noise of the guns, he saw several of the natives running into the house, in a great fright; they, no doubt, thought every thing was going to wreck and ruin: seeing their distress, he gave them to understand, by signs, that nothing was to be feared, and that they might go to sleep in safety. After the guns had ceased firing he went down to the beach, and found the ship burnt to the water's edge. He walked to the house again, filled with melancholy reflections, and retiring to his mat, sleep at length brought a temporary relief to his afflictions.

The next day, as soon as it was daylight, the natives flocked to the beach, and by the direction and assistance of Mr. Mariner and some of the crew, got five of the carronades on shore, by tying a rope round them, and dragging them with the main strength of two or three hundred men. A few days afterwards three more carronades were brought on shore in like manner, and also four long guns, but which, on account of their weight, were never afterwards made use of.

About a week now elapsed, without any material circumstance occurring; during which time Mr. Mariner kept, for the most part, within doors, by the advice of Finow, lest he should

be injured by the wantonness or malice of the 727
lower orders, who took every opportunity of
insulting him. On the 16th of December, Finow, 727
having a mind to go to the island of Wiha, for 634
the recreation of shooting rats, invited Mr. 484
Mariner to accompany him. The inhabitants of 224
this island made great rejoicings on account of [527]
Finow's arrival. He remained there three or [223]
four days, spending the time principally in
shooting rats* and birds.

One morning during Finow's stay at this
island, some of the natives brought to Mr. 401
Mariner his watch, which they had procured from 727
out of his chest, and with looks of curiosity 177
inquired what it was. He took it from them, wound it up, put it to the ear of one of them, and returned it: every hand was now outstretched with eagerness to take hold of it; it was applied in turns to their ears; they were astonished at the noise it made; they listened again to it; turned it on every side, and exclaimed "mo-ooi" (it is alive!): they then pinched and hit it, as if expecting it would squeak out; they looked at each other with wonder, laughed aloud, snapped their fingers, and made a sort of clucking noise with the tongue (expressing amazement). One brought

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* Rats are frequently used as an article of diet by the lower orders: the chiefs shoot them merely for amusement. [262]

401 727 177 a sharp stone, for Mr. Mariner to force it open with; he opened it in the proper way, and shewed them the works; several endeavoured to seize hold of it at once, and he who got it ran away with it, and all the rest after him. In about an hour they returned with the watch completely broken to pieces. One had the case, another the broken dial, and the wheels and works were distributed among them. They then gave him the fragments, and made signs to him to put it together, and make it do as it did before: upon which he gave them to understand that they had killed it, and that it was impossible to bring it to life again. The man who considered it his property exclaimed *mow-mow* (spoiled!), and made a hissing noise, expressive of disappointment: he accused the rest of using violence, and they in return accused him and one another. 401 727 177 805 Whilst they were thus in high dispute there came another native, who had seen and learned the use of a watch on board a French ship; when he understood the cause of their dispute, he called them all *cow valè* (a pack of fools), and explained, in the following manner, the use of the watch: making a circle in the sand, with sundry marks about its circumference, and turning a stick about the centre of the circle, to represent an index, he informed them that the use of the watch was to tell where

the sun was; that when the sun was in the east 401
the watch would point to such a mark, and when 727
the sun was highest it would point here, and 727
when in the west it would point there; and 177
this, he said, the watch would do, although it 805
was in a house, and could not see the sun; and in the night-time, he added, it would tell what portion of a day's length it would be before the sun would rise again. It would be difficult to convey an adequate idea of their astonishment: one said it was an animal, another said it was a plant; and when this man told them it was manufactured, they all exclaimed *Fonnooa boto!* what an ingenious people! All this Mr. Mariner collected partly by their gestures, and afterwards more fully when he understood their language, and conversed with this man, who always prided himself upon his knowledge of the use of a watch, calling himself Papalangi (an European).

About the 20th of December, Mr. Mariner 727
returned to Lefooga along with Finow. His life was still not only uncomfortable, but often exposed to many dangers, or, at best, he suffered many insults from the wantonness and malevolence of the lower orders. Tooi Tooi was by [829]
no means his friend, but, on the contrary, endeavoured to persuade Finow to kill both him and the other Englishmen; lest a ship should

727 arrive, and learning from them the fate of the
Port au Prince, take an ample revenge for the
829 injury done their countrymen: but Finow, fortunately, was not of this opinion; he conceived that white people were of too generous and forgiving a temper to take revenge, and therefore declined doing them any farther mischief. He had probably acquired this favourable idea of us, from observing that Europeans were not accustomed to knock out the brains of those under their command for trifling offences!

177 As Mr. Mariner had in his possession a few
754 printed books and some writing paper, he was
777 often found by Finow either writing or reading:
829 one day the latter desired him to give up all his
727 books and papers; which, when he had done,
with the exception of a journal of the voyage, he had the mortification to find that they were ordered to be burnt. On requiring an explanation of this extraordinary conduct, on the part of a man who appeared on other occasions to be so much his friend, he was informed, through the medium of Tooi Tooi, that the king could not, on any account, allow him to practise witchcraft to the injury of the Tonga people; and that it was well known to the king and many others, that those books and papers were instruments and means of invocation, to bring down some evil or plague upon the country. Mr.

Mariner could not very well comprehend Tooi 177
Tooi's interpretation; but when he afterwards 754
understood the language, the king explained to 797
him his opinion of books and papers, and gave 829
his reasons for that opinion, in the following 727
account.

"Some years ago, on the arrival of an Euro- 177
"pean vessel, one of the white men came to 754
"live among them by choice. This man's 797
"name was Morgan. He lived for a considera- 829
"ble time on terms of great friendship with
"the natives, and was much respected by them. "Some time afterwards there came another European vessel," (the Duff, Captain Wilson, with the missionaries,) "and from this ship also "there came several white men, to live by "choice among them. The white men that "came last built a house, in which they used often "to shut themselves up, to sing and perform "ceremonies, (as Finow expressed it). Matters "went on very well for some time: at length a "quarrel ensued between Morgan and the other "white men, at first about an iron pot which he "wanted to borrow of them, and then about "some pigs which they said he had stolen from "them: upon this they informed the chiefs that "this Morgan had been a bad man in his own "country, and was under sentence of banish"ment for his crimes; but from the full execu-

"not conceal our ceremonies from them, why 777
"do not they expose theirs to us? In the mean 754
"while Morgan said to the chiefs, 'You see the 797
"'effect of their incantations; several of you 829
"'are dying every day; by and by you will be
"'all cut off, and the king of England will take
"'possession of your islands; for although you
"'have the remedy in your power, you will not
"'make use of it.'—The chiefs took the alarm [721]
"in time; they rushed upon the white men, [727]
"and killed all but three[*], who were at that
"time under the protection of Veachi;" a
great chief, hereafter to be noticed.

Such was the cause of the fate of the mission- 727
aries, as related by the king to Mr. Mariner, 797
who often afterwards heard the same relation
from other chiefs. He inquired what became 727
of the three that were under the protection of
Veachi, and learnt that they were killed during 669
a civil war: they might indeed have made their 797
escape, along with some natives who invited
them into a canoe, which was going to another
island, but they chose to remain; urging for
their reason that they had not quarrelled with
any of the Tonga people, and that consequently
they should not be hurt; the others informed
them, however, that it was the Tonga custom

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[*] From the "Transactions of the Missionary Society," it appears that only three were killed.

727 not only to kill an enemy, but also all his friends
669 and relations, if possible: the three mission-
797 aries then replied that as they had done no
harm, and meant no harm, their God would protect them: at this moment, a party of natives, who were lying in wait in a neighbouring thicket, rushed out and killed them with their spears. The natives in the canoe pushed off from the shore, and made their escape.—How necessary it is to know the customs of the country! how baneful it is to be presumptuous! Our best intentions may be ruined by the ignorance of the one, and influence of the other.

727 But to return from this digression; Mr. Ma-
574 riner, and his companions, ignorant of the language of the country, and of the customs of the people, were often much distressed for want of food: sometimes indeed it was brought to them, but often not; sometimes they were invited by the natives to walk into their houses and eat with them; but frequently they seemed to be quite neglected, and were reduced to the necessity of procuring what they wanted by stealth.
[829] At length, through Tooi Tooi's interpretation, Mr. Mariner made known their wants to the king, upon which the latter seemed greatly surprised at their apparent stupidity; and inquired how food was obtained in England: and when he heard that every man procured the necessary

supplies for himself and family by purchase, and 727
that his friends, for the most part, only partook 574
by invitation, and that strangers were scarcely 829
ever invited, unless with a view of forming an
acquaintance, he laughed at what he called the
ill-nature and selfishness of the white people;
and told Mr. Mariner that the Tonga custom
was far better, and that he had nothing to do
when he felt himself hungry but to go into any
house where eating and drinking were going forward, seat himself down without invitation, and
partake with the company. After this, the generality of the natives made this selfishness, as
they considered it, of the Europeans quite proverbial; and when any stranger came into their
houses to eat with them, they would say jocosely, No! we shall treat you after the manner
of the Papalangis[A]; go home, and eat what *you*
have got, and we shall eat what *we* have got!

Mr. Mariner and his companions, about five 727
in number, (for the others were dispersed upon different islands) began now to be heartily tired of their way of life, and requested the king to give them a large canoe, that they might rig it as a sloop, and, with his permission, endeavour to make Norfolk Island on their way to New Holland; but this he refused, under pretext that the canoe would be too weak to stand the sea. On farther solicitation, however, he gave

A [Europeans--Analyst]

721 them leave to build a vessel for the express purpose, but in the progress of the work happening unfortunately to notch one of their axes, he refused any longer the use of them.

Thus cut off from all present hopes of escape, it became more than ever necessary to conform their minds to the manners and customs of the people whom they were among; but in a short time the ever changing events of war served to create a degree of activity in the mind, destructive of disagreeable reflections, and fruitless regrets.

128 As we are now about to enter upon a new scene of things, in which the political interests of these islands are particularly concerned, it becomes necessary to afford a general view of their history, from the time of Captain Cook; and particularly for the twelve or fifteen years previous to Mr. Mariner's arrival there, with a view to understand perfectly the state of things as he found it.

175 At the time when Captain Cook was at these
721 islands, the habits of war were little known to
648 the natives; the only quarrels in which they had at that time been engaged were among the inhabitants of the Fiji islands, about 120 leagues to the westward; for having been in the habit of visiting them for sandal wood, &c. they occasionally assisted one or other of the warlike par-

175 to his house with their followers, whom they
669 placed around it as watchful guards, ready to
643 dispatch all who might attempt to escape from
726 the place: of these Finow took the command,
634 whilst Toobó Nuha entered, armed with his axe,
[644] and burning with desire of revenge. As he
passed along, on either hand lay the wives and
[302] favourite mistresses of the king, the matchless
[301] beauties of Tonga, perfumed with the aroma of
sandal wood, and their necks strung with wreaths of the freshest flowers: the sanguinary chief could have wept over their fate, but the freedom of his country was at stake, and the opportunity was not to be lost*. He sought the mat of his destined victim, where he lay buried in the profoundest sleep: he stood over him for a short moment, but willing that he should know from whom he received his death, he struck him with his hand upon the face: Toogoo Ahoo started up,—"'Tis I, Toobó Nuha, that strike," and a tremendous blow felled him, never to rise again. Horror and confusion immediately took place: Toobó

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[727] * Such were the sentiments which he afterwards expressed to Mr. Mariner. The sacrifice of these women, however barbarous, was strictly according to the general Tonga custom in such cases; where not only the individual enemy is destroyed, but also all who belong to him, even his women, that his party may be weakened and distressed as much as possible.

r. i.

to enjoy the sweets and power of monarchy. 175
The battle raged for about three hours, when, 669
by the extraordinary exertions and achievements 726
principally of Toobó Nuha, who, as fame 634
reports, slew on that day forty with his own
hand,—the enemy became panic-struck, and fled
in all directions, conquered by that arm, which,
two days before, in giving Toogoo Ahoo his
death, had delivered the country from a tyrant. 634

Although the victory was so decisively in favour 175
of Finow, it cost him the lives of many of 669
his bravest men, and so far lessened his numerical 727
strength, as to render it prudent not to pursue
the enemy. After a consultation with his ally,
it was agreed on to proceed immediately to the 175
Hapai islands and Vavaoo, and look to their 669
own possessions, rather than run the risk of losing 723
them and their lives too in a dangerous war at 634
the island of Tonga, where the partisans of the
late How were particularly strong. They accordingly 175
set sail for the Hapai islands, and 669
landed at the nearest of them, Namooca, after 726
a slight resistance from a few of the adherents
of Toogoo Ahoo. They soon gained entire possession 634
of Namooca, and thence extended their
arms to the neighbouring islands, meeting with little
opposition, and gathering additional strength,
till they arrived at the island of Haano, where a
large body of the enemy were assembled and in

175 waiting ready to engage them. Here they had
669 an obstinate but decisive battle, which terminated
726 in favour of Finow. Thus was the
[634] conquest of all the Hapai islands secured, and
of which Finow was acknowledged king. In
this battle a number of chiefs and matabooles
175 (ministers and attendants of chiefs) were taken
669 prisoners, all of whom having been in the immediate
727 service of the late king, were, by the
[634] orders of Finow, put to death in various ways.
[565] Some were sent on board old and useless canoes,
which were then scuttled, and immediately sunk;
others were taken three or four leagues out to
sea, and being put in old leaky canoes, and tied
hand and foot, were left gradually to meet their
[634] fate. Those against whom Finow entertained
the greatest inveteracy were taken to the island
of Lofanga, and there tied naked to stakes
driven in the ground, or to the trunks of trees,
and left to starve to death: whilst they were in
this miserable situation, it is painful to relate the
cruelty exercised towards them by some of the
natives of the place; it must, however, be acknowledged
that the ill treatment they received
was chiefly at the hands of thoughtless boys,
who would stick sharp splinters of wood into
their bodies, and tantalize them by showing
them provisions, without giving them any. Notwithstanding
their exposure to the raging heat

of the sun, several of them bore their torments 175
with the greatest fortitude, although lingering 669
till the eighth day; others of weaker constitution 727
died in three or four days. Ever since that
time the natives of the place superstitiously [775]
believe that they can hear their groans frequently at different times during the night:—but this no doubt is occasioned by the roaring of the surf at a distance, or of the sea in subterraneous caverns, which, working upon the imagination, to a certain extent may resemble the groans of dying people *.

Finow, and his ally Toobó Nuha, after public 175
rejoicings at Haano, embarked for Vavaoo,
where they were allowed to land without opposition. 669
The people of this island, however, had 726
heard of the assassination of Toogoo Ahoo by 634
a canoe from the Hapai islands, and were determined to resist the claims of Finow, not by an open war, but in a mode much more harassing and tedious; and he accordingly found the reduction of Vavaoo exceedingly troublesome and dangerous. The enemy, always avoiding a general engagement, frequently molested them with sudden and violent assaults, either under cover of the darkness of the night, or during the day

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* The natives do not regard this as any thing awful, or as a memento of the crime of their chief, but as a matter of curiosity, without attempting to assign any reason for it.

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175 from their hiding-places. This mode of warfare
669 so exasperated Finow, who was not on such occasions
726 of the mildest temper, that he gave
[727] orders that all prisoners who were chiefs should
be reserved for future and exemplary punishment.
[565] The contest lasted about fourteen or
fifteen days, during which time the two chiefs
separated, and scoured the island all over, conquering
wherever they met with opposition. At
[651] length Voona, the chief of Vavaoo, having fled
to Hamoa (the Navigator's islands) with a canoe
full of other chiefs, Finow found himself master
of the whole place, and was declared king, but
he gave up the government of it to Toobó Nuha,
as a sort of viceroy, to pay him an annual tribute.
175 The prisoners, at least all that were
669 chiefs, were punished and put to death by means
727 too revolting to the feelings to mention. All
affairs being settled at Vavaoo, Finow returned
to the Hapai islands, to meditate future attempts
upon the island of Tonga.

In the mean time affairs went on very badly
175 at Tonga: Toogoo Ahoo left neither son nor
669 brother to succeed him, but he had several
643 distant relations, who put in claims for the sovereignty:
thus was a violent civil contention
induced, and the island was soon divided into
175 several petty states. In the course of a little
669 time, each party had built a fort for itself, so
712

175 sistency in all their accounts. From this it will
642 appear, that at the time of Captain Cook's visit,
the whole of Tonga, (that is to say the island
643 of Tonga, the Hapai islands and Vavaoo,) was
634 under the sole dominion of Toogoo Ahoo, whose
[124] seat of government was on the island of Tonga,
[651] and who received tributes from Finow, chief of
the Hapai islands, and from Voona*, chief of
Vavaoo: that at the time of Mr. Mariner's first
arrival the island of Tonga was, and had been
for several years, divided into various petty
states, all at war with one another; whilst Finow
was king of the Hapai islands and Vavaoo,
and Toobó Nuha only tributary chief of the
latter place.

Mr. Mariner and those of his companions who
669 were with him at the island of Lefooga, (and
719 were four in number,) received orders from the
722 king to prepare for the usual annual attack upon
727 the island of Tonga, and to get ready four 12
pound carronades. They immediately set to
work, to mount them upon new carriages with
high wheels, made by the native carpenters,
[726] under their directions. This being done, Finow

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* Voona, it is related, did not pay his tributes regularly as he ought to have done, but being a powerful chief, and his possessions so far from the seat of government, Toogoo Ahoo had never ventured to take hostile measures.

expressed his opinion, that the gun was an instrument 669
not well fitted (being too unwieldy) 719
for their mode of warfare, which consisted in 722
sudden attacks and retreats, according to circumstances, 726
rather than in a steady engagement. 727
He very readily entered into an acknowledgment of the advantages of a steady contest, but was apprehensive that his men would not easily be brought to stand it. Mr. Mariner and his companions, however, promised that they and their countrymen (who were dispersed upon other islands,) would remain in the front of the battle with their four guns, provided the Tonga people would agree to stand fast and support them. The king assented to this on the part of his men, and a few days afterwards, when he reviewed them, he signified his wishes, and they swore to fulfil their duty.

In the mean time the Englishmen employed 669
themselves in collecting the shot which the natives 719
had brought from on board, but which they 722
had thrown aside, not being able to shape them 727
for any common purpose. They also cut up a quantity of sheet lead, and made it up in rolls
to be used as shot. During this time every 669
preparation was also making by the natives for 722
the approaching war: they repaired the sails of their canoes, collected their arrows, spears,

722 669 and clubs; and the women employed themselves in packing up bales of gnatoo* mats, &c.

One day, whilst these preparations were going forward, 727 597 the king asked Mr. Mariner whether he had a mother living; upon his replying in the affirmative, he appeared much grieved that he should be separated so far from her. It is a custom in the Tonga islands, for men, (and sometimes women,) to adopt or choose a foster mother, even though they have their own natural mother living, with a view of being better provided with all necessaries and conveniences, as cloth, oil, food, &c. On this occasion the king appointed one of his wives, Mafi Habe, to be Mr. Mariner's adopted mother, telling him, that if there was any thing he wanted to make his situation more comfortable, he need only apply to Mafi Habe, and as she was a woman of consequence, it was in her power to procure him any thing that in reason he might require. This woman had afterwards as much real esteem and parental affection for him as she could possibly have for her own son.

158 At this time there lived in the island of Lefooga a female who for many years had been [782] afflicted with insanity. She had become insane

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[287] * Gnatoo, a sort of cloth made of the bark of the Chinese paper mulberry tree.

in consequence of excessive grief, partly occasioned 158
by the death of a near relation, but 782
principally by her child having been taken from
her to be strangled as an offering to the gods,
for the recovery of his sick father*. As this 734
poor woman was considered of no use to society, 727
Finow was desirous that she should be put
out of the way; and as he was also anxious
again to witness the execution of a musket ball,
he one day desired Mr. Mariner to shoot her:
the latter entreated to be excused from this ungrateful
task, assuring the king that he was perfectly
willing to risk his life in his service against
his enemies; but that it was quite contrary to
the sentiment of the religion in which he had
been brought up, and to the laws of his country,
to destroy an innocent fellow-creature in cold
blood. Finow immediately admitted the excuse,
without being at all offended, and the unfortunate
woman for that time escaped. A few days 734
afterwards, however, as she was walking about
upon the beach, Finow ordered a Sandwich
islander who was at hand with his musket to
shoot her: with ready acquiescence, he levelled
his piece and shot her dead upon the spot. Mr.
Mariner was at a little distance, and saw the
fact without having it in his power to prevent it.

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* This religious rite, will be described in another place.

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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669 726 were stuck with spears, and beaten about with clubs by boys who followed the expedition to be trained to the horrors of war, and who delighted in the opportunity of gratifying their ferocious and cruel disposition. Every house that was not on fire was plundered of its contents; and the conquerors made a considerable booty of bales of gnatoo, mats, &c.*

669 727 In a few hours, the fortress of Nioocalofa, which had obstinately and bravely defended every attack for eleven years, or more, was thus completely destroyed. When Finow arrived upon the place, and saw several canoes which had been hauled up in the garrison, shattered to pieces by the shot, and discovered a number of legs and arms lying around, and about three hundred and fifty bodies stretched upon the ground, he expressed his wonder and astonishment at the dreadful effect of the guns. He thanked his men for their bravery, and Mr. Mariner and his companions in particular, for the great assistance rendered by them.

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[714] * In this affair one of Finow's men, a native of Fiji, had made himself a sort of breast-plate of an earthenware fish-strainer, such as is laid in the bottom of dishes when fish is brought to table, which he had procured from the Port au Prince; but unluckily it happened that an arrow pierced him directly through the hole, which is commonly in the middle of such strainers: the wound laid him up eight months, and he never afterwards, in Mr. Mariner's time, was able to hold himself perfectly erect.

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A few of the enemy, who had escaped the general slaughter, were taken prisoners. They gave a curious description of the effect of the guns. They declared, that, when a ball entered a house, it did not proceed straight forward, but went all round the place, as if seeking for men to kill; it then passed out of the house and entered another, still in search of food for its vengeance, and so on to a third, &c.; sometimes it would strike the corner-post of a house, and bring it all down together. The chiefs, seeing all this dreadful mischief going forward, rendered still more tremendous by their own imaginations, sat in consultation, upon one of the large canoes just mentioned, and came to a determination to rush out upon the white men, and take possession of the guns: this was scarcely resolved upon, when a shot struck the canoe on which they were sitting, and shattered it to pieces. This so damped their courage, that they ran for security to one of the inner houses of the garrison, when their distress was much increased by finding their men deserting the place, and running up into the country. Thus every thing was going to destruction within, although, without, the damage appeared in Finow's eyes so inconsiderable; but he had formed his judgment of the effect of the guns by their effect upon the fencing.

634 669 727 The king, having finished this affair, began to think of returning to Pangaimotoo: Mr. Mariner, indeed, endeavoured to persuade him to follow up the advantages of his victory by immediately laying siege to another fortress, which, no doubt, would soon have fallen into their hands; and the whole island, being struck with dismay, would readily have submitted to his government. But, it seems, Finow was not yet the complete warrior; or he thought, perhaps, that, having such powerful weapons in his possession, he could reduce the island at any future time.

727 [131] [484] [262] Pangaimotoo is not more than three quarters of a mile distant from the island of Tonga, separated from it only by a long narrow reef. To this place Finow returned with all his men, intending to go back to Tonga another day. As soon as they landed, they sat down to eat, not having taken any refreshment since morning, with the exception of some of the men, whose stomachs not being the most delicate, had partaken of some yams and plantains that they found roasting along with the bodies of the dead in the general conflagration at Nioocalofa.

727 349 712 They remained several days at this island, during which time several canoes were sent to an uninhabited part of Tonga for the

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purpose of procuring reeds to rebuild the 349
fortress of Nioocalofa. This step was taken 712
by the admonition of the gods, who were [787]
consulted on the occasion through the medium
of the priests.

As the invocation of the gods, and inspiration 128
of the priests, are circumstances that will often
occur in the course of this work, it will be well
to take the present opportunity of describing
them.

The night previous to the consultation of the [787]
oracle, the chief orders his cooks to kill and prepare [262]
a hog, and to procure a basket of yams,
and two bunches of ripe plantains. These 787
things being got ready, the next morning they 793
are carried to the place where the priest resides,
or wherever he may be at that time: the priest
is sometimes previously apprised of the circumstance,
at other times not. The chiefs and matabooles [292]
clothe themselves in mats, and repair [276]
to the place where the priest is to be found: if
it be at a house, the priest seats himself just
within the eaves *; if at a distance, he seats himself
on any convenient spot of ground, and the
matabooles seat themselves on either hand, so
as would form a circle, or rather an ellipsis, if

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* Their houses are built somewhat in form of a shed, open all round, and the eaves coming within about four feet of the ground. [342]

Toogoo Ahoo, the late king of Tonga, who it 787
may be recollected was assassinated by Finow 154
and Toobó Nuha. When this young chief returned to Hapai, Mr. Mariner, who was upon a footing of great friendship with him, one day asked him how he felt himself, when the spirit of Toogoo Ahoo visited him; he replied that he could not well describe his feelings, but the best he could say of it was, that he felt himself all over in a glow of heat and quite restless and uncomfortable, and did not feel his own personal identity as it were, but seemed to have a mind different from his own natural mind, his thoughts wandering upon strange and unusual subjects, although perfectly sensible of surrounding objects. He next asked him how he knew it was the spirit of Toogoo Ahoo? his answer was, "there's a fool! how can I tell you *how* I knew it; I felt and knew it was so by a kind of consciousness; my *mind* told me that it was Toogoo Ahoo." Finow used occa- [634]
sionally to be inspired by the ghost of Moomooi, a former king of Tonga.

We must now return to Finow and his army at the island of Pangaimotoo.

A sufficient quantity of reeds and stakes hav- 349
ing been procured, Finow and his army left 712
Pangaimotoo and landed at Nioocalofa, for the 727
purpose of rebuilding the colo (or fortress.) The

349 plan was marked out somewhat different from
712 the former, and larger, as being judged more
suitable to their views; a vast number of hands
727 were employed, and in two days the building
was finished: a few alterations and additions
were afterwards made as occasion and conveni-
[164] ence required. During the time this was about,
several of the men got dangerously wounded
by falling into the *lovosás* and *sokies* *, of which
there were several on the land side of the *colo.*
[766] They were also much annoyed by the smell of
the dead bodies that lay every where about, but
which they did not take the trouble to bury, as
they were enemies, and none of them their rela-
tions †. The canoes were now hauled up on
the beach, and a strong fencing of stakes driven
round them. The four guns were drawn into
the fortress, and one placed at each door.

A few days afterwards a small party who
669 went up into the country according to their
726 daily custom, for the purpose of gathering

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* Lovosás are pit-falls; dug five feet deep and four broad; several stakes of bamboo are driven into the bottom and sharpened. Sokies are smaller holes, with one stake in, and large enough to admit a man's leg. These *lovosas* and *sokies* are covered over with slender sticks concealed from sight by plantain leaves and earth.

† The bodies that were found within the confines of the fortress they were of course obliged to remove, and these were thrown for the most part into the sea, which occasioned a greater number of sharks to frequent the place for a time.

cocoa nuts, were attacked by a larger party of 669
the enemy, when one man was killed, but the 726
rest escaped back to the *colo*. Upon this, a
body of two hundred set out, (Mr. Mariner 669
among them,) in pursuit of the enemy: they 726
found them, and were kept at a running fight, 727
till they were decoyed beyond a place where
another party lay concealed, who immediately
rose, attacked them in the rear, and killed
about thirty. The Hapai people now began to
run, and Mr. Mariner with four of the natives
who were engaged with another party, found it
necessary to decamp also: in crossing a field of
high grass, Mr. Mariner fell into a hole six feet
deep; his four faithful friends were resolved to
save him, and three defended the place with
their spears, while one helped him out: one of
the three was killed on the spot. Being extricated
from his perilous situation, and finding a
large body of the enemy close upon them, they
resolved to sell their lives to the utmost advantage.
At this moment, their own party looking
round and seeing these four bravely make a
stand, came up with all speed to their assistance,
and a general battle took place, which
was obstinately fought for some time, but at
length the enemy was completely put to the
rout. Whilst this was going forward, a Hapai 669
chief at some distance from their friends met a 726

669 726 Tonga chief under the same circumstances: they immediately engaged with their clubs; one however being soon disarmed, and the other having broken his club, they fought a long time with their fists; and when they were so weak that they could not strike, they grappled with each other, and both fell to the ground exhausted with fatigue: the Tonga chief, incapable of injuring his antagonist in any other way, got his fingers into his mouth, and gnawed them dreadfully: after having thus laid for a long time looking at each other, they gathered a little fresh strength, and by mutual agreement each crawled home to his respective fort.

The Hapai men, on their way back to Nioocalofa, found several of their friends in different parts of the road, who were unable to proceed on account of their wounds. But they were too weak themselves to carry them, and were obliged to leave them to the mercy of the enemy. They at length arrived at the *colo*, tired and fatigued beyond conception, with about fifteen prisoners.

727 669 266 [177] [724] The following day, some of the younger chiefs, who had contracted the Fiji habits, proposed to kill the prisoners, lest they should make their escape, and then to roast and eat them. This proposal was readily agreed to, by

some, because they liked this sort of diet, and 669
by others because they wanted to try it, thinking 266
it a manly and warlike habit: there was also 727
another motive, viz. a great scarcity of provisions; [124]
for some canoes which had been sent to the Hapai islands in quest of provisions were unaccountably detained, and the garrison was already threatened with distress. Some of the [252]
prisoners were soon dispatched: their flesh was cut up into small portions, washed with sea-water, wrapped up in plantain leaves, and roasted under hot stones: two or three were embowelled and baked whole the same as a pig *. Mr. Mariner was not tempted to partake of this kind of diet, though the smell of it, when cooked, was exceedingly delicious. A few days now [124]
elapsed without any signs of the canoes from Hapai, and the distress of those who did not choose to eat human flesh was very great. Mr. Mariner had been two days and a half without eating any thing; when, passing by a house where they were cooking something, he walked in, with the pleasing hope of getting something that his stomach would bear, if it were only a piece of a rat; on enquiry, he was told, they had got some pork, and a man offered him a piece of liver, which he eagerly accepted, and

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* For their different methods of cooking, reference must be made to the second volume of the work.

669 was raising to his mouth, when he saw, by the
266 smile on the countenance of the man, that it
727 was human liver; overcome by disgust, he
threw it in the man's face, who only laughed, and asked him if it were not better to eat good meat than die of hunger.

175 When Captain Cook visited these islands,
266 cannibalism was scarcely thought of amongst
261 them: but the Fiji people soon taught them
[177] this, as well as the art of war; and a famine,
[731] which happened some time afterwards, rendered the expedient for a time almost necessary. On this occasion they way-laid and murdered one another to supply themselves with food; and they still tell an anecdote of four brothers, who, in this time of scarcity, invited their aunt to come and partake of a large yam, which they said they had secretly procured: the poor woman, glad of the idea of getting something to eat, and pleased with the kindness of her nephews, went to their house, where they soon dispatched her, and she herself formed the ma-
[525] terials of a repast. Since that period, there
was a great scarcity at one of the fortresses on the island of Tonga, called Nookoo Nookoo: two daughters of a chief of this place agreed to play at the game of lafo * against two

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* This game will be described in the second volume of the work.

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young chiefs belonging to the same place, upon 266 the following conditions: if the girls won the 261 game, they were to divide a yam, which they 525 had in their possession, and give half to the young chiefs; but if, on the contrary, these won the game, they were still to have half the yam, but were to go out and kill a man, and give half his body to the girls: the result was, that the latter won the game, and giving half their yam to the two chiefs, waited for the performance of their agreement. The two young men set out, under cover of the darkness of the night, and concealed themselves near an enemy's fortress. Early in the morning, a man came out of the fencing to fetch some salt water from the shore in cocoa-nut shells, which he carried with him for the purpose. When he approached the place where the two lay concealed, they started out upon him, killed him with their clubs, and, at the risk of their lives, brought his body to Nookoo Nookoo, where they divided it in half, and faithfully performed their promise with the young women.

It was more than a fortnight before the canoes returned from the Hapai islands with a 724 supply of provisions, owing to the bad state of the weather. Shortly after, the garrison of 766 Nookoo Nookoo sent to request leave to bury 727 the dead bodies of their relations who had fallen

766 during the siege. This being granted, they
727 came and singled out half a dozen, from the
350 that lay about, whom they knew, from
particular circumstances, to be their relations.
These they took home to Nookoo Nookoo, leaving
all the rest where they found them.

669 Every day a number of deserters from different
garrisons came over to Finow: they all
726 brought intelligence that Finow might shortly
expect an attack from one or other of them:
but the fortress of Nioocalofa was now well
prepared to receive them. In the meanwhile,
the chief of a fortress called Bea, about four
miles to the eastward, entered into an alliance
with Finow, or rather submitted to his dominion,
acknowledging him king of Tonga. The
name of this chief was Tarky.

Having remained a fortnight or three weeks
in daily expectation of an attack from an enemy,
and seeing yet no signs of it, Finow became
exceedingly impatient; for he was desirous
of returning to the Hapai islands to perform
an indispensable ceremony of a religious
766 nature, which we shall now explain. At the
784 death of Tooitonga, (their great divine chief)
there is such a constant feasting for nearly a
262 month, as to threaten a future scarcity of certain
765 kinds of provisions: to prevent which evil,
643 [565] a prohibition, or *taboo*, is afterwards laid upon

not, reminding him of the admonition of the 634
Gods. This circumstance so affected him, that
it prevented his departure till the following
morning. In the mean time, a Tonga chief,
Filimoeátoo, and his family, having obtained
permission from the superior chief of his garrison
(that of Hihifo) to join Finow, as he was
his relation, arrived at Pangaimotoo, and entered
into the king's service. During the day, [522]
another circumstance occurred which amused
Finow, and served to quiet the ruffled state of
his temper. Mr. Mariner, having heard that 727
European ships more frequently touched at
Tonga than at any of the other islands, had
written, while yet at Tonga, an English letter
(with a solution of gunpowder and a little mucilage
for ink), on some paper which one of the
natives had had a long time in his possession,
and addressed it to whomsoever it might be,
stating the circumstances of his situation, and
that of his companions. This letter he had confided
to the care of the chief of Mafanga, (the
consecrated place formerly mentioned) with directions
to give it to the captain of any ship
that might arrive at Tonga. Tooi Tooi (the 727
Sandwich islander) having somehow heard of 634
this letter, mentioned it to Finow, and represented
it to be a notice to European ships of the
fate of the Port au Prince, and a request to take

727 revenge for the destruction of her crew. Finow immediately sent for the letter and obtained it, 634 under some specious pretext, from the chief of Mafanga. When it was put into his hands he looked at it on all sides; but not being able to make any thing of it, he gave it to Jeremiah Higgins, who was at hand, and ordered him to say what it meant: Mr. Mariner was not present. Higgins took the letter, and translating part of it into the Tonga language, judiciously represented it to be merely a request to any English captain that might arrive to interfere with Finow for the liberty of Mr. Mariner and his countrymen: stating that they had been kindly treated by the natives, but, nevertheless, wished to return, if possible, to their native country. This was not indeed the true substance of the letter, but it was what was least likely to give offence: and the chief accordingly remarked that it was very natural for these poor fellows to wish to go back to their native country and friends*.

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* The letter in fact was an advice to European ships to go to the Hapai Islands in preference to the Island of Tonga, as being a better place for victualling: advising at the same time, not to suffer many of the natives to be on board at once, lest they should meet with the same fate as the Port au Prince, but, if possible, to make some of the chiefs prisoners and keep them as hostages, till Mr. Mariner and his companions were delivered up.

This mode of communicating sentiments was 127
an inexplicable puzzle to Finow; he took the 634
letter again and examined it, but it afforded him 177
no information. He considered the matter a little within himself; but his thoughts reflected no light upon the subject. At length he sent for Mr. Mariner, and desired him to write down something: the latter asked what he would choose to have written; he replied, put down me: he accordingly wrote "*Feenow*" (spelling it according to the strict English orthography): the chief then sent for another Englishman who had not been present, and commanding Mr. Mariner to turn his back and look another way, he gave the man the paper, and desired him to tell what that was: he accordingly pronounced aloud the name of the king, upon which Finow snatched the paper from his hand, and, with astonishment, looked at it, turned it round, and examined it in all directions: at length he exclaimed, "This is neither like myself nor any body else! where are my legs? how do you know it to be I?" and then, without stopping for any attempt at an explanation, he impatiently ordered Mr. Mariner to write something else, and thus employed him for three or four hours in putting down the names of different persons, places, and things, and making the other man
read them. This afforded extraordinary diver- [522]

727 sion to Finow, and to all the men and women
634 present, particularly as he now and then whis-
177 pered a little love anecdote, which was strictly
[522] written down, and audibly read by the other,
not a little to the confusion of one or other of
the ladies present: but it was all taken in good
humour, for curiosity and astonishment were the
prevailing passions. How their names and cir-
cumstances could be communicated through so
mysterious a channel, was altogether past their
[754] comprehension. Finow had long ago formed
his opinion of books and papers (see p. 60), and this as much resembled witchcraft as any thing he had ever seen or heard of. Mr. Mariner in vain attempted to explain. He had yet too slender a knowledge of their language to make himself clearly understood: and, indeed, it would not have been an easy matter to have explained the composition of elementary sounds, and of arbitrary signs expressive of them, to a people whose minds were already formed to other modes of thinking, and whose language had few expressions but what concerned the ordinary affairs of life. The only rational mode would have been, to have invented a system of spelling, and to have gone through the usual routine of teaching it. Finow, at length, thought he had got a notion of it, and explained to those about him that it was very possible to put

down a mark or sign of something that had been 727
seen both by the writer and reader, and which 634
should be mutually understood by them: but 177
r. Mariner immediately informed him, that he could write down any thing that he had never seen: the king directly whispered to him to put Toogoo Ahoo (the king of Tonga, whom he and Toobó Nuha had assassinated many years before Mr. Mariner's arrival). This was accordingly done, and the other read it; when Finow was yet more astonished, and declared it to be the most wonderful thing he had ever heard of. He then desired him to write "Tarky'," (the chief of the garrison of Bea, whom Mr. Mariner and his companions had not yet seen; this chief was blind in one eye). When "Tarky" was read, Finow inquired whether he was blind or not; this was putting writing to an unfair test! and Mr. Mariner told him that he had only written down the sign standing for the sound of his name, and not for the description of his person. He was then ordered in a whisper to write, "*Tarky', blind in his left eye,*" which was done, and read by the other man to the increased astonishment of every body. Mr. Mariner then told him that, in several parts of the world, messages were sent to great distances through the same medium, and, being folded and fastened up, the bearer

727 could know nothing of the contents; and that
634 the histories of whole nations were thus handed
177 down to posterity, without spoiling by being
kept (as he chose to express himself). Finow
acknowledged this to be a most noble invention,
but added, that it would not at all do for the
Tonga islands, that there would be nothing but
disturbances and conspiracies, and he should
not be sure of his life, perhaps, another month.
He said, however, jocosely, that he should like
to know it himself, and for all the women to
know it, that he might make love with less risk
of discovery, and not so much chance of incurring
the vengeance of their husbands.

[522] This circumstance served greatly to amuse
and interest Finow and all his chiefs during
484 their day's stay at Pangaimotoo. The following
morning they again embarked, and sailing
with a favourable wind for the Hapai islands,
they arrived at Namooca, and ultimately at Lefooga.

262 Orders were now issued, and preparations were
796 speedily made for the ceremony of annulling
766 the eight months *taboo*. The places appro-
784 priated for this purpose were two *maláis*, and the
765 grave of Tooitonga. For distinction's sake, we
shall call the first *malái* Tooitonga's, and the
[349] second Finow's. Tooitonga's *malái* is near his
own residence, and on this were erected four

662 him, he chose merely by an outward shew of
634 moderation and wisdom to give a sort of passive
consent, and to remain by this means the spectator
rather than the actor in the scene, and so
to avoid if possible the odium of being an accomplice
in the murder of so brave and good a
man.

A few days now elapsed, and Toobó Nuha
662 was still among the number of the living. One
evening, about an hour before sun-set, the king
727 desired Mr. Mariner to accompany him and his
634 daughter to Mahina Fekite, about three quarters
of a mile off; he was going, he said, to
consult an old chief, Toge he Mooana, who
resided there, upon some political business.
Finow usually carried out with him a large
whaling knife, (the blade of which was two feet
long and three inches wide;) Mr. Mariner, observing,
on this occasion, that he did not take
his knife, asked him if he should take it and
carry it for him; he replied, No, I have no
need of it: the other obeyed, and followed*
him and his daughter, unarmed. In their way
they came near to a pool, and Finow stepped
aside to bathe, previously sending an attendant
to Toobó Nuha, to desire him to come to him.
By the time he had done bathing Toobó Nuha

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[481] * When several persons walk together, it is customary for one to follow another in a row.

arrived, and all four pursued their walk to the 662
old chief's house; where, when they arrived, 634
the two chiefs and Finow's daughter entered 727
the inside fencing, while Mr. Mariner went into a house within the outside fencing, and remained in conversation with a female attendant of Finow's daughter. They had not been long here, before Toobó Tóa came in and shortly after went out again. There entered soon after four men belonging to him, who immediately began to take down the sail, mast and sprits of a small canoe; stating as their motive, when questioned by the woman, Toobó Tóa's orders to prepare a canoe*; having taken what they wanted, they went out. In about two hours Finow came out of the inner fencing, followed by Toobó Nuha and his own daughter; as they passed on, Mr. Mariner followed her, and the female attendant walked last.—It was now night, but somewhat moonlight. As they passed the corner of the outer 662
fencing, Toobó Tóa and the four men just spoken 634
of rushed from their hiding-place, and made a violent assault on Toobó Nuha: the first blow of a club he received on his shoulder, (intended

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* The orders they had received from Toobo Toa were, in fact, to get ready a canoe to make his escape in, if his intended project against the life of Toobo Nuha should fail. These four men were his confidents.

“ been long enough the chief of Vavaoo, living 662
“ in ease and luxury; thou murderer of my 634
“ father! I would have declared my sentiments
“ long ago, if I could have depended upon
“ others to second me; not that I feared death
“ by making thee my enemy, but the vengeance
“ of my chief, Toobó Toa, was first to be satis-
“ fied, and it was a duty I owed the spirit of my
“ father to preserve my life as long as possible,
“ that I might have the satisfaction to see thee
“ thus lie stinking! (dead!)” he then repeated
the blows several times upon his stomach.

On the first noise of the scuffle, Mr. Mariner [727]
imagining that Finow himself was attacked, at-
tempted to rush forward, though unarmed, to
his assistance, but was prevented by a strong
man, who taking him round the body, pinioned
his arms to his side. The women, on hearing
the sound of the blows, and the exclamation of
Toobó Nuha, ran screaming into the fencing.
In about ten minutes after the affair, nearly 628
two hundred of Finow's people assembled, 634
armed with clubs and spears, to a party of
whom, with a chief at their head, Finow gave
orders to go immediately to Toobó Nuha's peo-
ple, who were at their temporary houses on the
shore, and command them, in his name, to go
on board their respective canoes, except the
principal Vavaoo chiefs, who were to come into

glory and honour, telling them at the same 669
time, that death was a thing to be despised,— 702
not to be feared by a brave man, whose name 726
would still live with a lasting life, when his 634
body was buried in the dust. He then dismissed them, with orders that those belonging to the northern islands might immediately return home, but were shortly to proceed to Haano, the northernmost island of all the Hapais, and there to wait the arrival of him and all his southern forces on their way to Vavaoo.

About this time a circumstance happened, 727
which deserves in a particular manner to be re- 609
corded, because it evinces a disposition in the 685
natives to act with more justice, mercy, and discrimination, than what one might otherwise be tempted to expect. Two boys, about fourteen years of age, viz. Thomas Eversfield, an Englishman, and John Roberts, a black native of Tortola, (both belonging to the Port au Prince,) were detected stealing a bale of *gnatoo*
from a consecrated house. If they had been [565]
natives, they would instantly have been pu- [693]
nished with death: but the chiefs and matabooles took the matter into consideration, and resolved, that, as they were foreigners, and so young and thoughtless, the offence, this time,
should be overlooked. Nevertheless, to ap- 727
pease the anger of the god, to whom the house 609
685
782

727 was consecrated, it was thought necessary to
609 address him humbly upon the subject. Ac-
685 cordingly, his priest, followed by chiefs and
782 matabooles, dressed in mats, with leaves of the
Ifi tree round their necks, in token of humility and sorrow, went in solemn procession to the house: they sat down before it, and the priest addressed the divinity to the following purpose: "Here you see the chiefs and matabooles that "have come to thee, hoping that thou wilt be "merciful: the boys are young, and being fo-"reigners, are not so well acquainted with our "customs, and did not reflect upon the great-"ness of the crime: we pray thee, therefore, "not to punish the people for the sins of these "thoughtless youths: we have spared them, "and hope that thou wilt be merciful and spare "us."—The priest then rose up, and they all
727 retired in the same way they came.—The chiefs,
609 and particularly Finow, most severely repri-
685 manded the boys, and endeavoured strongly to
[565 impress upon their minds the enormity of the
[634 offence, and that they owed their lives solely
to their presumed ignorance of the extent of the crime.—They were both of them heartily frightened.

669 A few days after the review a canoe arrived
[628 from Vavaoo, with a few Hapai people, who
were suffered to leave that island at their par-

the enemy were assembled. As they approach- 669
ed, a shower of arrows was discharged upon 726
them; but Finow ordered a mataboole to ad-
vance forward and request an armistice, that 669
each party might take leave of what friends and 726
relations they might have among their oppo- 593
nents*; which being granted, a number came 602
out of the garrison to take a farewell of their
relatives,—perhaps the last farewell of those
who were about to fight against them. Here
ensued a moving scene; many tears were shed
on both sides, and many a last embrace ex-
changed. This affecting spectacle had lasted 669
about two hours, when a circumstance acci- 726
dentally occurred, unfortunate enough in its 727
consequences, but which might have turned
out still more so. One of the enemy, upon the
outer bank of the fortress, wantonly shot an
arrow at Mr. Mariner, but which fortunately
missed him, and stuck in a tree close at his

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* In a civil war at these islands, as well as at other places, it often happens that sons have to fight against their fathers, and brothers against their brothers; but what renders this circumstance still more common at Tonga, is the adherence to an old established custom, which binds every man in honour to join the cause of that chief on whose island he happens to be at the time the war is declared, unless some circumstance, as particular relationship between great men, engages the chief of the island, upon earnest request, to give him liberty to depart.

669 elbow; he immediately turned about, and dis-
covering the man who discharged it, levelled
726 his musket, on the impulse of the moment, and
727 shot him dead upon the spot: instantly the
enemy sounded the war-whoop, and all was up-
roar and confusion. The king, not understand-
ing the cause, was in a most violent rage with
Mr. Mariner, and would forthwith have dis-
patched him with his club, had he been near
enough: his matabooles did all they could to
calm his temper, but he was not easily pacified:
he sent a man to Mr. Mariner to demand his
musket, but the latter, feeling himself aggrieved,
peremptorily refused: Finow, by this time, be-
coming somewhat more calm, and learning the
true cause of the disaster, was speedily recon-
669 ciled. In the mean time the enemy, conceiv-
726 ing this to be a piece of treachery, returned to
their entrenchments, and assailed the besiegers
with showers of arrows. The king now ordered
the great guns to open a fire upon the fort, but
they seemed to do little or no injury to the
works, owing to the height of the place and
the strength of the embankment; several, how-
ever, were killed who ventured outside of it.
The firing had lasted, with occasional intermis-
sions, during six or seven hours, when a con-
siderable number of the enemy were perceived
coming out of the fencing, and sheltering

themselves behind the banks, with the evident 669 intention of sallying forth. Upon this the king 726 ordered all his men to sit down, and to remain perfectly quiet and steady, although the enemy should advance quite close to them, till they received his further orders to rise up and rush upon them. They accordingly sat down. A party of fifteen or sixteen now came down from the fort, and seven or eight of the Hapai people ran forward to skirmish with them. One of 669 the advanced party of the enemy came up to 726 within fifteen or sixteen yards of the carronade, 727 of which Mr. Mariner had the charge, and there stood, brandishing his spear in a threatening attitude: Mr. Mariner immediately fired the gun at him, but the moment the match was applied the man fell flat on his face, and the shot missed him: the moment after he sprung up again, and advanced forward to within ten paces of the gun, dancing and making sundry warlike gesticulations; he then brandished and threw his spear, intending it to enter the gun, but it struck against the muzzle. Mr. Mariner, astonished at the boldness and presumption of this warrior, was determined to punish him for his rashness, and accordingly levelled his musket, but just as he was pulling the trigger, an arrow struck the barrel of the piece, and caused him to miss his aim. The warrior

669 then shouted aloud, and returned with all speed
726 to the fortress. Here the reader will no doubt
recollect the bravado of a man who assumed
727 the name of Fanna Fonnooa (p. 149), and declared that he would advance boldly up to a gun and throw his spear into the mouth of it, by way of expressing his contempt for this instrument of warfare. This warrior was the man; and he no doubt would have shared a severer fate, had Mr. Mariner been prepared for him, but having treated that threat as an idle boast, he had altogether forgotten the circumstance, and did not again reflect on it till after it was over.

669 The main body of the enemy was still stationed behind the banks, upon places cut for
726 them to stand on, so that they were defended breast high, and thus had an opportunity of discharging their arrows in abundance, without much risk of receiving a shot in return. After a time, however, they came forth from their strong hold, and assembled on the outside, forming themselves quickly into three divisions, the same as Finow's army. Most of the greatest and bravest warriors stationed themselves in the left wing, with the view of descending, with all their concentrated power, on Finow's right wing, commanded by Toobó Tóa, along with whom were the other principal

men that had assassinated Toobó Nuha, six or seven in number: against *each* of these twenty of the enemy's left wing had orders to throw their spears, at a signal to be given, without directing their attention particularly to any one else, each party of twenty having singled out its man. These matters having been arranged, and having stationed themselves outside the bank as above stated, the whole advanced slowly and steadily forward. Finow's men still remained seated on the ground, according to the orders that had been given them, except a few who danced before them, by way of showing their contempt for the enemy, and of provoking them to hostilities. Mr. Mariner requested Finow to order these men in, that a cannonade might be opened upon the enemy; but the king objected, stating that as they ventured forward in an open body he would receive their attack, and fight them upon equal terms; that these guns gave him too great an advantage, such as he scorned to take; that it was more honourable to fight them man to man than to use against them arms that were rather fitted for the hostilities of spirits than of men[*]:

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[727]

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[*] The use of artillery seems to have conveyed to the imagination of Finow the same idea of tremendous warfare as is inspired by the expression of our great poet—

"Battle dangerous to less than gods."

669 at the same time he returned his thanks for the
726 advantages formerly derived from the use of
these weapons, which he thought well calcu-
[727] lated for the destruction of forts.

The enemy now advanced within thirty paces, and threw their spears: instantly the Hapai army, too eager to remain longer quiet, sprang up, and rushing upon their foes, a close engagement commenced, which was obstinately maintained for about an hour, when the enemy were repulsed, and beaten completely back into their fortress. It was now twilight, but the Hapai warriors pursued them to their very doors. One chief in particular, Chioolooa, although he was wounded in the breast by a five-barbed spear, the shaft of which he had broken off, rushed even within the banks of their fortress, and there knocked out a man's brains; in making his retreat, however, he was wounded in the back by another spear, which, not being barbed, he drew out, and ran back to his own party; but the wound was mortal, and he lingered till the next day. This was the same chief, who, on the day of Toobó Nuha's burial, challenged any of the Vavaoo people to fight him (p. 145): he came to battle, he said, with a kind of presentiment that he should be killed, and was determined, therefore, to sell his life as dearly as possible.

It is not at all extraordinary that most of 669
those who had assisted in the assassination of 727
Toobó Nuha should fall victims, in this battle, to the vengeance of the enemy; but it is very extraordinary that one among them, viz. Latoo Ila, (who, as may be remembered, insulted the body of Toobó Nuha, and upbraided him with the murder of his father), should altogether escape without a single wound or hurt worth mentioning; although he, like the rest of the assassins, was the object of the vengeance of twenty men combined against him. This circumstance gave rise to the general opinion that he was defended by the gods. He certainly fought with uncommon bravery, and this was the first time that he had distinguished himself; but it must be kept in recollection, that he was fighting against a party whose late chief had slain his own father.

During this battle several of the Hapai women came to the scene of action, that they might be near their husbands to assist them if wounded. One of them, the wife of Toobó [565]
Tóa, (Toobó Aho Mée,) was taken prisoner by the enemy, but extremely well used by them; and about three weeks afterwards she was sent back, from motives of respect, because she was a great egi (chief) of the family of Tooitonga (vide Rank in society, second volume): had

669 she been of the king's family, she would no
721 doubt have been retained a prisoner.

[565] Night was now set in, but, by Finow's orders,
a firing was kept up, merely with stones, to
669 avoid a waste of shot, because no good aim
726 could be taken: this lasted for about an hour.
[565] The king's matabooles then made several
speeches to the garrison, soliciting the Vavaoo
chiefs to submit to the government of Finow,
but they objected, under the apprehension that
they should be afterwards killed by the treachery
[634] of the king or of Toobó Tóa. Finow
then addressed them, threatening to remain
there the whole night, and the next day to set
about building a fort opposite theirs, and to
keep up the war until they either yielded or
were destroyed.

Shortly after this, however, he gave orders to his men to repair as silently and as speedily as possible to Neáfoo. He deceived the enemy in this way, to prevent them proceeding by another road, and cutting off his retreat. The guns were given in charge to some of the principal warriors, with men under their command
669 to drag them along. The labour of doing this
726 for three miles was by no means trifling, particularly
718 as the road was very uneven: they swore
829 heartily at all guns, and all Englishmen for
making them, and wanted to know why they

could not construct them a little lighter; or at 669
least, as they had ingenuity enough to make the 726
guns, they ought to have, they said, the inge- [713]
nuity also to make legs for them to walk with. [829]

Being arrived at Neafoo, the king, his chiefs, matabooles, Mr. Mariner, and some of the Englishmen, went on board the canoes to pass the night. Mr. Mariner now, as well as in numerous other instances, found the advantage of 705
having an adopted mother, by whom he was 262
provided with plenty of good food, consisting [727]
of cooked yams, ripe bananas, and raw fish. [597]
They had partaken of no food all the day, and even now not above thirty or forty, consisting of chiefs and matabooles, got any thing to eat, for the time was too far advanced, and the common men too fatigued, to cook yams enough for themselves that night; and as to raw fish, it was considered too good, and at that time too scarce, to give to them *.

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* The idea of eating raw fish is not one of the least revolting to the imagination; and we are too readily disposed to believe, that nothing but excessive hunger could render this species of food at all palatable: hence voyagers, on witnessing this act among the natives of these islands, have reasonably supposed them to be some of the lower orders much distressed for want of food (vide Labillardiere's voyage); but the fact is, raw fish is a very palatable diet, and is accordingly eaten as a matter of choice, not of necessity. Being strongly assured of this fact by Mr. Mariner, I made the trial, and repeated it several times upon mackarel, salmon,

669 726 634 far, he met a man who had deserted from the enemy, and who informed him of their knowledge of his expedition, their plan of frustrating his object, as well as the alleged treachery of Lioofau. The king upon hearing this, before he advanced a step farther, ordered Lioofau into immediate confinement, with a strong guard over him. This being done, he proceeded towards the fortress of Felletoa, and taking advantage of the information given him by the deserter, actually hemmed in the very party that would otherwise have done the same
669 726 727 to him. These, finding themselves, contrary to their expectations, surrounded by Finow's army, and seeing no other resource than to endeavour to force their way through, made the attempt, and succeeded, after a hard struggle, attended by great slaughter: sixty of the enemy were killed, and fourteen or fifteen of the Hapai people also fell. The enemy now retreated towards the field of yams, to join those who were stationed there for its defence; and Finow, thinking it hazardous to make a farther attack, retired back upon Neafoo, taking with him the sixty dead bodies. The other party of the enemy that had, in the mean while, advanced to Neafoo, finding the place not under the command of Lioofau, suspected some deception, and made a speedy retreat.

The king and his army being arrived at their 669
fortress, the sixty bodies were shared out to 727
the different gods that had houses dedicated to 634
them within the place. In performing this ceremony 782
the people formed a large circle on the
ground, with the king at the upper end. The
bodies being placed in a row before Finow, a
man rose up, and counting the bodies, declared
aloud their number. The king then ordered
that so many should be allotted to such a god,
and so many to such another, and so of the
rest. The names of these gods were Tali y [776]
Toobo, Tooi fooa Bolotoo, Lau file Tonga, Toobo
lalo Tonga, and Chenitacala: the two first
only are imaginary beings, the others are souls
of departed chiefs; the last of all is a goddess,
the soul of a female chief of that name. This 669
being done, the bodies were carried away, and 727
laid before the houses of the different gods to 266
whom they were allotted: where, after they [766]
had remained three or four hours, those who [763]
had left relations among the garrison of Neafoo [752]
were carried away and buried; and the remainder,
which were only nine or ten in number,
were conveyed to the water side, and there disposed
of in different ways: two or three were
hung up on a tree; a couple were burnt; three
were cut open from motives of curiosity to see

669 whether their insides were sound and entire*,
727 and to practise surgical operations upon, hereafter to be described; and lastly, two or three
266 were cut up to be cooked and eaten, of which
[766 about forty men partook. This was the second
[763 instance of cannibalism that Mr. Mariner wit-
752 nessed, but the natives of these islands are not
[177 to be called cannibals on this account: so far from its being a general practice, it is on the contrary generally held in abhorrence, and where it is occasionally done, it is only by young warriors, who do it in imitation of the Fiji islanders, attaching to it an idea that there is something in it designating a fierce, warlike, and manly spirit. When they returned to Neafoo after their inhuman repast, most persons who knew it, particularly women, avoided them, saying, "Iá-whé moe ky-tangata," away! you are a man-eater.

The bodies being thus all disposed of, Finow
669 began to make enquiries respecting the alleged
687 treason of Lioofau, and finding no one capable
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[784 [827 * It is a firm belief with the people that if a man infringes upon the *Taboo* (see p. 141) or commits any sacrilege, his liver or some other viscus is liable to become enlarged and schirrous: they therefore often open dead bodies out of curiosity, to see if they have been sacrilegious in their lifetime.
[164 The natives of these islands are particularly subject to schirrous tumours.

of urging any thing against him, and he so- 669
lemnly declaring his innocence, and stating 687
that his son must have invented this tale to
answer some purpose with the enemy; more- 634
over, having always borne a good character and been well beloved by his men, and believed to have been always firmly attached to the interests of Finow, he was set at liberty and restored to his post.

The day after this chief was reinstated, Fi- 669
now ordered the ceremony of drinking cava to 727
the priest of his tutelar god Toobó Totai, by 276
way of gratitude for the late victory. This ce- 787
remony is exactly the same as that of invoking 793
a god through the medium of his priest; and consists merely in the customary form of sitting down to make cava in the presence of a priest, (he presiding at the head of the ring). In this instance, after the cava, pork, &c. had been served out, one of the matabooles, in a few words, thanked the god in the person of the priest for the late signal victories. The priest in answer, after waiting for another dish of cava, declared that Finow would at length succeed in his war against Felletoa, but that this fortress was not the strongest power he had to contend with, for the seeds of insurrection were already sown in his own army, and although Lioofau was perfectly innocent of what had been al-

669 leged against him, yet there was one at no
727 great distance from him for whom so much
276 could not be said. The god having conde-
787 scended to declare this, left his priest, and the
latter arose and went away; the company then
793 broke up. Finow pretended to take no notice
of what the priest declared, not wishing the
circumstance to be much noticed by others.

The following day an adopted son of Finow
669 brought him secret intelligence that he had
634 heard that several men had been sent off at dif-
565 ferent times, by Mappa Haano, to the fortress
687 of Felletoa, to concert with the enemy on the
558 subject of revolt, and that this chief had the in-
tention of doing what Lioofau had been un-
[292] justly accused of and imprisoned for. The king
[301] immediately sent for Mappa Haano, who obeyed
the summons, and came drest up in mats, with
[576] green leaves round his neck, (marks of humi-
[793] liation and fear) attended by a priest. When
669 they arrived opposite Finow's house they sat
634 down before it; then the priest rose and ad-
565 vancing nearer to Finow, who was seated just
687 within the eaves of the house, he again sat
558 down before him, and stated that Mappa Haano
793 had requested his intermediation, to express for
him the sentiments of self-accusation with
which he felt himself oppressed, and his ac-
knowledgment of the justice of his fate, if Fi-

daring fellow, who often ventured by night 669
and early in the morning close up to the *colo* 726
of Neafoo to kill any stragglers they could meet with. One morning a party of Finow's men, twelve or fourteen in number, among whom was Mr. Mariner, being out on a little excursion, surprised four of the enemy, who were busily employed digging *ma*[*] in a pit: these they immediately laid hold of, and dragged
out, to take them home prisoners. Imagining 669
they had got Moteitá and his followers who had 727
so often committed depredations upon them, they resolved to make a signal example of their prisoners. A young chief, however, objected to this measure, and proposed that it would be better to decapitate them at once, and take
their heads home. This plan was immediately [412]
assented to, but some one observing that they [237]
had no knives with them, another casting his
eyes upon the ground, remarked, there was something that would do as well; and taking up a shell from a neighbouring spot, where some persons had been eating large pearl oysters, he proposed to proceed to work with oyster-shells as substitutes for knives: this was immediately approved of, and the four unfortunate

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[*] Ma is a species of prepared food, consisting of bread- [262]
fruit, or plantains, or bananas; buried for a considerable [252]
time under ground, in order to ferment.

669 727 [412] [237] victims were taken in hand. It was in vain that they begged their lives, protesting that they were not the persons they had taken them for: in vain did Mr. Mariner point out the cruelty of the act, urging them at least to kill them first speedily, and cut off their heads afterwards: to this remonstrance they answered that their prisoners deserved to be severely punished for the many atrocities they had committed; and as to killing them first, and cutting off their heads afterwards, they thought it unnecessary trouble. This horrible piece of cruelty was accordingly committed on the spot. They began the operation, (after having stripped themselves, to prevent their garments from getting bloody,) by haggling at the back of the neck; they then cut gradually round the throat, till they had got through every thing but the spine, which they divided by turning the head down, and giving it a violent twist. This being done, they washed themselves, resumed their *gnatoos*, and proceeded with the four heads to the garrison. 669 727 634 It was still early when they arrived, and they found the king sitting with his friends on the *malái* drinking cava. The four heads were brought to him by different men, and placed in the middle of the circle upright with their faces towards Finow, who returned his thanks (as customary) to those who had killed them. Mr.

Mariner having seated himself near Finow, the 669 latter asked him why they did not kill them 727 at once, without cutting off their heads: this 634 question he asked partly from motives of humanity, and partly to know why they took so much trouble about them.

A few days after this event, Tooboo Boogoo, 669 a certain priest, belonging to the *colo* of Felletoa, 723 and who was a relation of Finow, having 793 been consulted, regarding some matters of policy, gave advice which appeared to the Vavaoo chiefs more consonant to Finow's interests than their own, and they accordingly objected to it, declaring that he wanted to act a treacherous part in thus befriending his relation: upon which he told them that if they could place no credit in his word, nor confidence in his honesty, he was of no use to them, and therefore they had better kill him at once, or at least confine him;—or if they had a mind to behave generously towards him, permit him to go away and live with Finow: the chiefs replied that they should take a little time to consider of it. He did not think proper, however, to wait for their decision, but made his escape early one morning, and took refuge with Finow, whom he informed of a design the enemy had of besieging him. In consequence of this information every preparation was made to put the fortress in the best possible state of defence.

which lasted about three quarters of an hour; 669
when they again took shelter within their walls. 726
In the first engagement the enemy had forty
men killed, and Finow only two: in the last attack 669
they had only one man killed, and Finow 727
none, though several died afterwards of their
wounds; but this was only an engagement with [726]
arrows and spears, which they are very dexterous in avoiding: clubs were not used; for the enemy were upon a higher ground, and it would not have been prudent to have attacked them with the club, and risk the loss of their former advantages; and the enemy were too much discouraged to venture into the plain for this purpose. The day was so rainy that no
muskets could be well used. In the last affair [752]
Mr. Mariner received an arrow in his foot,
which passed quite through the broadest part of [413]
it: luckily it was not a bearded arrow; but the wound was, nevertheless, a very bad one; for the weapon being made of a short, splintering wood, it broke in, and consequently he was afterwards disabled for several months; for the Tonga surgeons have not the best instruments in the world, and the pieces of wood they took out from time to time, by no better means than cutting down upon them with sharp shells, or bamboo; which rendered the affair very tedious and painful.

parating into two parties, concealed themselves 669
on either side of the road leading to the fencing. 724
The canoe having reached the shore, half the 726
men landed with Havili at their head, and proceeded towards the place where the hogs were
kept. They had no sooner passed the spot
where the enemy lay concealed, than the latter 669
rushed out, and attacked them in the rear so 727
suddenly, and with such effect, that fifteen 726
were quickly dispatched, the enemy only losing one man, who was killed by Havili. This warrior and his four remaining men effected their escape to their companions in the canoe, and pushed from the shore as quickly as possible. As they were paddling off, the enemy called out to them in derision, "What! you wanted "some pork, did you?—how do you like your "treat?—but stay, here are some fine pigs for "you, ready killed" (alluding to the dead bodies), "why don't you come and take them "away?"—but Havili and his men, sorely discomfited, returned home without making any farther attempt.

very much dejected, and sent to his aunt, Toe Oomoo (the chief of the enemy), requesting to have his wife returned, stating, that it was a war between men, and not women; but his remonstrances had no effect. These women both laboured under the jealousy and tyrannic influence of Möonga Toobo, Finow's favourite wife: partly to rid themselves of this, and partly to visit and live with relations they had in the opposite garrison, they made their escape, and took a by road near the sea-shore. On the morning of their departure, Mr. Mariner was at some distance from Neafoo, gathering shaddocks in a thicket: for, although his wound did not allow him to use any active exertions, yet he now and then went abroad by the help of a stick, which, no doubt, was one cause that rendered the cure very tedious. Being up in a tree, he heard a rustling noise in the bushes below, and, directing his attention to the spot, was surprised to see one of Finow's wives. Prompted by curiosity, he came quickly down, and, seizing her by the arm, inquired what caused her to stray so far from the fortress, and to expose her person and her life to the insults and cruelty of the enemy: she replied, that she had only come out for a walk, and was going shortly to return. To this account he objected, that it was too far, and too dangerous a walk

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669 for her to take alone, with the risk of meeting
586 Moteita and his followers, who often concealed
722 themselves in those woods, and declared his
727 suspicion that she intended to run away. She immediately fell on her knees, clasped her hands, and begged and intreated most earnestly, that he would not prevent her flight from the dominion of tyranny to the bosom of her relations, and appealed most pathetically to his own feelings and affections towards his mother, or whatever relatives he might have in his own country, and represented how hard and cruelly severe it would be for any one to prevent him flying to them, if it were otherwise in his power. Being moved by the earnestness of her manner, and the unfortunate circumstances of her situation, he raised her up, and promised not to interfere in her escape, nor to divulge the matter to any one, and gave her full liberty to proceed whichever way she thought proper.

669 Finow had, for a long time past, entertained
726 the idea of seizing upon several of the enemy's
226 women, who were in the habit of assembling
[723] at a certain part of the inlet, to gather shell-fish,
[634] and now, that his wife had run away, he was more than ever encouraged to do this, by way of retaliation upon Toe Oomoo, for the detention of her. The place where they procured this sort of fish, was upon a shelf of rocks (about

a foot and a half deep at low water), that ran 669
across the inlet at no great distance from Fel- 726
letoa. Upon this shelf they were accustomed to
fish every day, wading through the water. On [226]
these occasions, several men of their own party
had frequently alarmed them by rushing out
upon them, pretending to be the enemy, and
had repeated this so often, that, at length, they
only laughed at the joke, and ridiculed the idea
of running away. One evening a party of Fi-
now's men, who had formed themselves for the
express purpose of making an attack upon these
women, set out in a canoe, and sailed to a part
of the island where they could land unobserved,
and proceed to the spot where they were fish-
ing, without any danger of discovery, on account
of the high bushes that were there in abundance.
Being arrived on the spot, at an appointed
signal they rushed out upon the women, who
immediately set up a hearty laugh, taking them
for their old friends, so fond of a joke; but,
when they saw two or three knocked down with
clubs, they ran away as fast as their strength
and the resistance of the water would let them,
and the men after them in full pursuit. There [727]
were thirty of them, of which number five were
killed, and thirteen taken prisoners, the other
twelve escaping safe to the opposite shore. In
this affair the wife of Finow's son was very

669 726 nearly retaken; she ran so exceedingly swift through the water, knee-deep, and the young chief in pursuit of her exerted himself so much to overtake her, although he was near enough to knock her down with his club, that he actually fell through fatigue. It must, however, be said in favour of the chief, that the weight of his club was a great disadvantage, whereas his lovely fugitive ran without any incumbrance, for, in her endeavour to quicken her pace, her gnatoo (dress) became loose, and fell from her waist; this was the only time that she looked back, from a sense of modesty, to see if it was recoverable, but she was under the necessity of pursuing her flight without it.

669 727 The thirteen prisoners were conducted to Neafoo*, though Finow had given orders that all that should be taken should be killed on the spot. The captors saved their lives, however, partly from motives of humanity, and partly

[833] * They were obliged, however, by the way, to submit to the will of their captors, for this is always considered a thing of course, and not at all an act of brutality. These transactions are generally conducted in neighbouring woods, and by no means in an open, public, or outrageous way. In short, notions of delicacy, in respect to the female sex, have a much higher influence in the Tonga islands than what would be commonly understood from the accounts of some travellers: among the lower orders, of course, there are abuses every where, but these do not constitute the legal customs of a country.

from those of profit (as they could employ them 669
in making gnatoo, &c.) When they arrived at 727
Neafoo, there happened a strong dispute between
several relations of the prisoners, and 669
those who had taken them; the former arguing 727
that they had a claim to the women, according 578
to the old Tonga custom, which decrees, that 602
all persons shall be in the service of their older
and superior relations, if those relations think
proper to employ them: the captors, on the
other hand, strenuously grounded their claims
on the right of conquest. The dispute ran 669
very high, and they referred it to Finow, who 727
replied, that he should not interfere in it, and 578
they might settle it themselves as well as they 634
could, for they had no right to bring the prisoners 627
there to create disturbances, but should
have dispatched them according to his orders.
At length he condescended to give his opinion,
viz. that the most proper method would be,
under these circumstances, to cut each woman
in two, and give one half to her relation, and
the other to the captor. The affair, however, 669
was amicably settled, without having recourse 727
to such bloody measures; some being given up 578
to their relatives, and others retained, upon
terms mutually agreeable to all parties.

About this time the two long expected canoes 669
arrived from Hapai, laden with provisions: they 724

As soon as he arrived at the fortress, he com- 669
municated to Finow what had passed, saying, in 688
his defence, that he was so eager in pursuit, as 727
to be out of all self command. The king im-
mediately ordered cava to be taken to the priest 669
of his own tutelar god, that the divinity might 688
be consulted as to what atonement was proper 787
to be made for so heinous a sacrilege. The priest
being inspired, made answer, that it was ne- [782]
cessary a child should be strangled to appease [783]
the anger of the gods*. The chiefs, then, held 669
a consultation, and came to the determination 688
of sacrificing a child of Toobo Toa, by one of
his female attendants†. Toobo Toa was pre- 782
sent, and gave his consent that his child (about 783
two years old) should be immolated to appease
the anger of the gods, and turn aside their ven-
geance for the sacrilegious crime committed.
The child was accordingly sought for; but its
mother, thinking *her* child might be demanded,
had concealed it: being, at length, found by

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[*] This is perfectly consistent with the Tonga custom, whenever the divinities are supposed to be exceedingly offended. It is a piece of superstition far from being uncommon in the history of mankind. Unpleasant truths as well as agreeable ones must be sought out and related, if we wish to arrive at a true knowledge of our own nature.

[†] On such occasions, the child of a male chief is always [565]
chosen, as being worthier than others, and a child by an inferior female attendant, because it is not a chief; only those children being chiefs whose mothers are chiefs.

669 death as a punishment for his late offence. This
726 too was the general opinion of the people, and
was the subject of their conversation for a long
784 time afterwards, contributing to spread a considerable
761 gloom throughout the garrison. Palavali died about half an hour after he was
brought home.

669 Finow already began to grow tired of the
723 [728] war: it was a kind of conflict not suited to his
[634] genius, he loved rather a few hard fought engagements
[726] and a speedy conquest. The enemy
shewed no disposition to come forth from their
[712] strong hold and attack him; and he had found
by experience, that even the guns produced no
sensible effect upon their fortification, situated
upon an eminence, and defended by walls of
669 clay*. He heartily wished for a peace, but he
634 did not choose that his wish should be known,
lest it should be attributed to fear or any other
728 unworthy motive; in short, he wanted to bring
about a peace, without being thought to *wish*
for it; and the difficulty was to accomplish this,

● [727] * Mr. Mariner could easily have devised a method to set the enemy's fortress on fire; but he considered Toe Oomoo's cause quite as just as that of Finow, and although the latter was his friend and benefactor, yet he had more than half assisted in the assassination of a man of admirable character (Toobo Nuha) who was also Mr. Mariner's friend; besides, he did not choose to be the means of dealing out destruction upon a number of innocent women and children.

703 notched and blooded it a good deal, and pre-
577 tend it was done in the battle against a living
565 foe; but such things are always suspected, and
held in ridicule.

Finow having for a considerable time in-
634 spected the fortification, praising every where
the judgment with which it was planned, re-
tired to the house which had formerly belonged
to Toobó Nuha, where he passed the night.
634 The following morning he summoned a general
727 meeting of all the inhabitants of Vavaoo, which
was soon accomplished, as the people were all
at one or other of the two fortresses. He then
gave directions to all the principal men respecting the cultivation of the country, which the
late war had reduced to a sad state. He commanded that every one should be as frugal as
possible in his food, that the present scarcity
might be recompensed with future abundance.
He ordered his fishermen to supply him and his
chiefs with plenty of fish, that the consumption
634 of pork might be lessened. Having settled
727 these matters, he next gave orders that the
large fortress of Felletoa should be taken down,
712 its fencing carried away by any body who
might want it, its banks levelled with the
ground, and its ditches filled up; urging, as
his reason, that there was no necessity for a
garrisoned place in time of peace, particularly

in a spot which could be so much better employed 634
for building an additional number of 727
more commodious dwellings. The fortress of 712
Neafoo, he said, might remain, for it was a
place not convenient to live at, and therefore it
was not worth while to take any trouble about
it. These were his ostensible reasons, but his
real motives were easy to be seen into: he was
apprehensive, that, in the event of another insurrection,
his enemies might again possess
themselves of this strong hold; but as to the
other fortress, if he did not succeed in securing
it for himself, he could easily dispossess his enemies
of it, by destroying it with his carronades
whenever he thought proper.

These orders were begun immediately to be
put into execution, under the inspection of the
chiefs of the different districts of the island.
The following day the king gave orders to 634
Toobo Toa to proceed back to the Hapai 651
islands, of which he constituted him tributary
chief; the tributes* were to be sent to Vavaoo

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* The tribute generally consists of yams, mats, *gnatoo*, dried fish, live birds, &c.; and is levied upon every man's property in proportion as he can spare. The quantity is sometimes determined by the chief of each district, though generally by the will of each individual, who will always take care to send quite as much as he can well afford, lest the superior chief should be offended with him, and deprive him of all that he has. This tribute is paid twice a year; once

634 half-yearly, as usual: at the same time, all the
651 natives of Hapai, who had come to the war,
were to return with their chief. On this occasion
the young prince (Finow's son, Moegnagnongo)
634 went with Toobó Tóa to the Hapai
727 islands, as he wished to look over his lands on
the island of Foa; and Mr. Mariner accompanied
484 the prince, as he preferred his character
and habits to those of his father. They arrived
safe at this island after a quick passage of about
nine hours.

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634 at the ceremony of *Inachi*, or offering the first fruits of the
651 season to the gods, in or about the beginning of October;
and again at some other time of the year, when the tributary
chief may think proper, and is generally done when some
article is in great plenty. The tribute levied at the time of
the *Inachi* is general and absolute; that which is paid on
the other occasion comes more in form of a present, but is so
established by old custom, that, if it were omitted, it would
431 amount to little less than an act of rebellion. It may here
with propriety be observed, that the practice of making presents
565 to superior chiefs is very general and frequent. The
higher class of chiefs generally make a present to the king,
of hogs or yams, about once a fortnight: these chiefs, about
the same time, receive presents from those below them, and
these last from others, and so on, down to the common people.
The principle on which all this is grounded is of course
fear, but it is termed respect (*ofa*).

Hapai islands, when he received his long 634
wished-for present; but he made no use of it 223
till about three weeks afterwards, when he had
returned to Vavaoo. In the mean time Maccapapa, 669
Lolo hea Bibigi, and three others, all
chiefs and warriors, secretly left Vavaoo, and
sailed for Tonga, to join Taky', chief of the
fortress of Bea (who formerly burnt Finow's
fortress of Nioocalofa in so treacherous a manner).
They took this step, being apprehensive
that the king might hereafter wreak his vengeance
on them for fighting against him: the
sequel will show how far their apprehensions
were well grounded.

Whilst Finow was yet at the Hapai islands, 313
Mr. Mariner accompanied the prince to the 727
island of Tofooa, to procure iron-wood, which
is found there in great abundance. The prince 313
first obtained leave from Tooitonga, (the divine 634
chief,) for this island is his property, and 778
therefore considered sacred; besides, it is supposed 825
to be the residence of the sea gods, and
on this account the people firmly believe that
no sharks will hurt a man who is swimming
near upon its coast, but, on the contrary, swim
round him, and even pass so close as to touch
him, without shewing the least hungry disposition.
Mr. Mariner, however, never had an [727]

319 opportunity of witnessing the miraculous abstinence
634 of this sort of fish.

778 On the island of Tofooa there is a small volcano,
825 situated near the northern extremity,
727 from which smoke almost constantly issues, and
pumice-stones are very frequently thrown out.
133 An eruption of flame takes place, sometimes
twice or thrice a week, and at other times
scarcely once in two months, and generally
133 lasts from one to two or three days. The way
727 to the top is extremely difficult; but Mr. Mariner,
taking one of the natives of the island
for a guide, resolved to ascend it. They began
the ascent early in the morning, and, although
their progress was much impeded by the quantity
of loose pumice-stone, and often rendered
very dangerous, they reached the top in about
four hours. There was at this time no eruption
of flame, which had ceased a few hours
before, after having lasted three days; smoke
there was, however, in abundance, but which
did not much annoy them, as they were on the
windward side: sundry explosions were also
heard from within, like the noise of water
being thrown upon burning pitch. The crater
133 was about thirty feet diameter. Whilst they
727 were here, Mr. Mariner took care not to let
518 his companion approach too near, lest he might

have some sinister intent: such precaution was 133
by no means unnecessary, as this species of 727
treachery, when it can be performed secretly, 518
is not unusual, particularly among great warriors, when they have some petty interest to
consult. This, however, is not to be considered the natural disposition of the Tonga people, [177]
but a practice which, along with that of war, they have learned from the natives of the Fiji islands, where a man seldom goes out, even perhaps with his greatest friend, without being armed, and cautiously upon his guard. Mr. Mariner had, therefore, provided himself with a pistol, as a defence against any violent measures on the part of his companion. On their return down the mountain, he told his companion that he might have shot him dead, and nobody would have been the wiser, to which the man replied, "I see you are *loto boto*[*], like "the Fiji people;" meaning that he possessed policy and caution against treachery; and added, "as I am unarmed, it is a proof that *I* "had no ill design, and therefore did not suspect any in you."

Whilst on this island, Mr. Mariner went to 727
see the grave of an Englishman, John Norton, belonging to the boat of the Bounty, Captain
Bligh, whose crew had mutinied. He was led [175]
[726]

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[*] Of a wise mind.

727 to visit this spot from a motive of curiosity,
excited by the account which the natives had
175 given him of the death of this man. Lest,
726 however, the reader may have forgotten this
175 particular circumstance in the narrative of
Captain Bligh, we shall first give the account
726 as related by this gentleman. Having put into this island for supplies, and after having remained a few days, he discovered that the natives had a design against him; in consequence of which he made the best of his way with his men to the boat: the narrative then proceeds in the following words:

"When I came to the boat, and was seeing the people embark, Nageete wanted me to stay to speak to Eefow; but I found he was encouraging them to the attack, and I determined, had it then begun, to have killed him for his treacherous behaviour. I ordered the carpenter not to quit me until the other people were in the boat. Nageete, finding I would not stay, loosed himself from my hold, and went off, and we all got into the boat, except one man, who, while I was getting on board, quitted it, and ran up the beach to cast the stern-fast off, notwithstanding the master and others calling him to return, while they were hauling me out of the water.

"I was no sooner in the boat than the attack

175 up; and, as it was now almost dark, they gave
726 over the attack, and returned towards the shore, leaving us to reflect on our unhappy situation.

"The poor man I lost was John Norton: this was his second voyage with me as quartermaster, and his worthy character made me lament his loss very much. He has left an aged parent, I am told, whom he supported."

The account the natives gave was to the following purport. Part of Captain Bligh's crew had been on shore to procure water, and had all returned into their boat, except one man who was making the best of his way after his companions, with an axe in his hand; some of the natives, perceiving the axe, resolved to possess themselves of it, particularly one of them, who was a carpenter; they accordingly pursued him, and this carpenter, throwing a stone at him, knocked him down, and, coming up, beat him on the head with stones till he was dead. They then stripped the body, and dragged it up the country towards a malai, where they left it exposed two or three days,
727 and afterwards buried it near the spot. They
said very little about a general attack, merely
175 stating, that some of the natives threw stones
726 at Captain Bligh's boat; and Mr. Mariner, at
824 that time, not having read the narrative, did

not enquire into such particulars as he other- 727
wise would have done: but the most wonderful 824
part of the story is, that the whole track of
ground through which the body was dragged [175]
had ever since been destitute of grass, as well [726]
as the spot on which it lay for two or three days. It was this circumstance, principally, that engaged Mr. Mariner to visit the place, and there, indeed, he found the bare track of ground from the beach to near the place where they say he was buried; nor has it much the appearance of a beaten path, besides that it leads to and from places, where there are but few inhabitants: at the termination of this track there is a bare place, lying transversely, about the length and breadth of a man.

However trivial such relations may appear 771
in themselves, they are worth mentioning, with 824
a view to contrast them with the accounts given by credible travellers, that they may tend to prove how far the statements of the natives may be depended on; besides which, in some instances, as in the present, they shew what kind of superstitions they are subject to (for another instance of this kind, see the affair of the missionaries, p. 61). As to the bare track, although it may not now have much the appearance of a beaten path, owing to the grass having grown irregularly on either side, yet there

177 then it was so small in quantity, that they could not get one tenth part of what they wanted with it. One day, whilst sauntering about, the chief fixed his eyes upon a cook's shop, and, seeing several people enter, and others, again, coming out with victuals, he made sure that they were sharing out food, according to the old Tonga fashion, and in he went, glad enough of the occasion, expecting to get some pork; after waiting some time, with anxiety to be helped to his share, the master of the shop asked him what he wanted, and, being answered in an unknown language, straightway kicked him out, taking him for a thief, that only wanted an opportunity to steal. Thus, he said, even being a chief did not prevent him being used ill, for, when he told them he was a chief, they gave him to understand, that *money* made a man a chief. After a time, however, he acknowledged that he got better used, in proportion as he became acquainted with the customs and language. He expressed his astonishment at the perseverance with which the white people worked from morning till night, to get money: he could not conceive how they were able to endure so much labour.

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After having heard this account, Finow asked several questions respecting the nature of money: what is it made of?—is it like iron? can

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it be fashioned like iron into various useful instruments? if not, why cannot people procure what they want in the way of barter?—but where is money to be got?—if it be made, then every man ought to spend his time in making money; that when he has got plenty, he may be able afterwards to obtain whatever else he wants. In answer to the last observation, Mr. Mariner replied that the material of which money was made was very scarce and difficult to be got, and that only chiefs and great men could procure readily a large quantity of it; and this either by being inheritors of plantations or houses, which they allowed others to have, for paying them so much tribute in money every year; or by their public services; or by paying small sums of money for things when they were in plenty, and afterwards letting others have them for larger sums, when they were scarce: and as to the lower classes of people, they worked hard, and got paid by their employers in small quantities of money, as the reward of their labour: &c. That the king was the only person that was allowed to make (to coin) money, and that he put his mark upon all that he made, that it might be known to be true; that no person could readily procure the material of which it was made, without paying money for it; and if contrary to the *taboo* of

634 the king, he turned this material into money,
727 he would scarcely have made as much as he
had given for it. Mr. Mariner was then going
177 on to shew the convenience of money as a medium
of exchange, when Filimóëátoo interrupted
634 him, saying to Finow, I understand how it is;—
727 money is less cumbersome than goods, and it is
177 very convenient for a man to exchange away
829 his goods for money; which, at any other time,
he can exchange again for the same or any other goods that he may want; whereas the goods themselves may perhaps spoil by keeping (particularly if provisions) but the money he supposed would not spoil; and although it was of no true value itself, yet being scarce and difficult to be got without giving something useful and really valuable for it, it was imagined to be of value; and if every body considered it so, and would readily give their goods for it, he did not see but what it was of a sort of real value to all who possessed it, as long as their neighbours chose to take it in the same way. Mr. Mariner found he could not give a better explanation, he therefore told Filimóëátoo that his notion of the nature of money was a just one. After a pause of some length, Finow replied that the explanation did not satisfy him: he still thought it a foolish thing that people should place a value on money, when they

either could not or would not apply it to any 634
useful (physical) purpose: "if," said he, "it 727
"were made of iron, and could be converted 177
"into knives, axes, and chisels, there would be 829
"some sense in placing a value on it; but as it "is, I see none: if a man," he added, "has more "yams than he wants, let him exchange some "of them away for pork or *gnatoo;* certainly "money is much handier, and more convenient, "but then as it will not spoil by being kept, "people will store it up, instead of sharing it "out, as a chief ought to do, and thus become "selfish; whereas, if provision were the principal property of a man, and it ought to be, "as being both the most useful and the most "necessary, he could not store it up, for it "would spoil, and so he would be obliged either "to exchange it away for something else useful, "or share it out to his neighbours, and inferior "chiefs and dependants, for nothing." He concluded by saying, "I understand now very "well what it is that makes the Papalangis so "selfish;—it is this money!"

When Mr. Mariner informed Finow that dollars were money, he was greatly surprised, having always taken them for *päänga**, and

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* Paanga is the name they give to a certain kind of bear 526
which is used in one of their games (see *Laffo* among the

634 things of little value; and he was exceedingly
727 sorry he had not secured all the dollars out of
the Port au Prince, before he had ordered her
177 to be burnt: "I had always thought," said he,
829 "that your ship belonged to some poor fellow,
"perhaps to king George's cook*; for captain
"Cook's ship, which belonged to the king, had
"plenty of beads, axes, and looking-glasses on
"board, whilst yours had nothing but iron
"hoops, oil, skins, and twelve thousand *pääinga*
"as I thought: but if every one of these was
"money, your ship must have belonged to a
"very great chief indeed."

Finow and his chiefs having now remained
634 at the Hapai islands nearly six weeks, resolved
484 to return to Vavaoo, and the following day set
sail: the prince and Mr. Mariner accompanying
634 them. As soon as they arrived at Vavaoo, the
231 king gave orders that all the dogs in the island,
except a few that belonged to chiefs, should be
killed, because they destroyed the game, particularly the *kalai;* after which he promised
262 himself great sport with his favourite bird. As
the breed of dogs was scarce at these islands,
there were not more than fifty or sixty killed on

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[526] games at the end of the second volume): they supposed dollars to be used among us for a similar purpose.

[252] [565] * At these islands a cook is considered one of the lowest of mankind in point of rank.

CHAP. IX.

Island of Hoonga—Curious cavern there, and how first discovered—Anecdote of the person who first discovered the cavern—Description of the sport of shooting rats—Popular tale of the origin of the Tonga islands—Finow's return to Vavaoo—General *fono*, and seizure of several chiefs—Stratagem used to secure Cacahoo—Several of the priſoners taken out to sea to be sunk; their conversation on the way—Conduct of Cacahoo whilst sinking—Conduct of the widows of the deceased, particularly of the widow of Now Fahoo—Description of the plantation of Mahe Boogoo—Popular tale of what happened at this plantation in former times—Tonga song—Abundance of a peculiar fish found here—This plantation given up by Mahe Boogoo, and conferred on Mr. Mariner by Finow—Mr. Mariner's providential escape from a shark—A dead spermaceti whale found off one of the islands—Their method of making ornaments with its teeth—Anecdote exemplifying the high estimation in which whale's teeth are held—Still greater value of them at the Fiji islands—Arrival of Cow Mooala from the Fiji islands. 000

Finow, having at this time no business of im- 634
portance on which to employ his attention, re- 484
solved to go to the island of Hoonga, lying at 659
a small distance to the southward of Vavaoo, 224
in order to inspect the plantations there, and 517
to recreate himself a little with the sport of
shooting birds and rats. Mr. Mariner, as [727]
usual, formed one of the party. On this island 133

133 there is a peculiar cavern, situated on the
western coast, the entrance to which is some
feet beneath the surface of the sea even at low
water; and was first discovered by a young
chief, whilst diving after a turtle. The nature
of this cavern will be better understood if we
imagine a hollow rock rising sixty feet or more
above the surface of the water; into the cavity
of which there is no known entrance but one,
and that is on the side of the rock, several feet
under the water, which flows into it; and consequently
the base of the cavern may be said to
634 be the sea itself[*]. Finow and his friends, being
276 on this part of the island, proposed one afternoon
on a sudden thought, to go into this
517 cavern, and drink cava. Mr. Mariner was not
727 with them at the time the proposal was made;
481 but happening to come down a little while after
to the shore, and seeing some of the young
chiefs diving into the water, one after another,
and not rise again, he was a little surprised,
and enquired of the last, who was just preparing
to take the same step, what they were

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[*] The depth of the entrance below the surface differs of course with the different heights of the tide: when Mr. Mariner entered, it was about six feet below the surface: Jeremiah Higgins says it was two or three feet when he went in, at nearly low water, at which period it is very difficult to enter, on account of the swell.

about? "Follow me," said he, "and I will 727
"take you where you have never been before; 481
"and where Finow, and his chiefs and matabooles, are now assembled." Mr. Mariner, supposing it to be the famous cavern of which he had heard some account, without any further hesitation, prepared* himself to follow his companion, who dived into the water, and he after him, and, guided by the light reflected from his heels, entered the opening in the rock, and having dived through the passage, which is about eight or nine feet in length, rose into the cavern. He was no sooner above the surface 727 of the water than, sure enough, he heard the voices of the king and his friends: being directed by his guide, he climbed upon a jutting portion of rock, and sat down. All the light that came into this place was reflected from the bottom, and was sufficient, after remaining about five minutes, to show objects with some little distinctness; at least he could

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* It is proper to mention that in presence of a superior [291]
chief, it is considered very disrespectful to be undrest: under [576]
such circumstances as the present, therefore, every one retires a little, and as soon as he has divested himself of his [565]
usual dress, slips on an apron made of the leaves of the chi tree, or of matting called gie: the same respect is shewn if it be necessary to undress near a chief's grave; because some hotooa or god may be present.

727 discover, being directed by the voice, Finow
and the rest of the company, seated like him-
self. Nevertheless, as it was desirable to have
a stronger illumination, Mr. Mariner dived out
again, and procuring his pistol, primed it well,
tied plenty of *gnatoo* tight round it, and
wrapped the whole up in a plaintain leaf: he
directed an attendant to bring a torch in the
same way. Thus prepared, he re-entered the
cavern as speedily as possible, unwrapped the
gnatoo, a great portion of which was perfectly
dry, fired it by the flash of the powder, and
lighted the torch. The place was now illu-
minated tolerably well, for the first time, per-
133 haps, since its existence. It appeared (by
guess) to be about 40 feet wide in the main
part, but which branched off, on one side, in
two narrower portions. The medium height
seemed also about 40 feet*. The roof was
hung with stalactites in a very curious way, re-
sembling, upon a cursory view, the gothic
521 arches and ornaments of an old church. After
276 having examined the place, they drank cava,
517 and passed away the time in conversation upon
823 different subjects. Among other things, an

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* Jeremiah Higgins thinks it was not near so high: he had the light of the sun setting opposite to the entrance, and refracted through the water. Mr. Mariner had a superior light, from his torch.

of Vavaoo, the young chief returned with his 696
wife to the last mentioned island, and lived 584
long in peace and happiness. 823

Such, as to matter of fact, is the substance 179
of the account given by the old mataboole.
There was one thing however stated, which [133]
might appear in opposition to probability, viz.
that the chief's daughter remained in the cavern two or three months, before her lover found an opportunity of taking her to the Fiji islands: if this be true, there must have been some other concealed opening in the cavern
to have afforded a fresh supply of air. With a 127
view to ascertain this, Mr. Mariner swam with 133
the torch in his hand up both the avenues before spoken of, but without discovering any opening; he also climbed every accessible place, with as little success. At the time Jeremiah Higgins was in this cavern it was nearly low water. He felt a draught of air coming from the left, and on examining the source of it found a hole which he thinks was more than a foot diameter, from which proceeded a tolerably strong and steady breeze, but not the least glimmer of light. This opening he guesses to have been about four feet above the surface of the water at that time. When Mr. Mariner was there, it must have been nearly high water, and the hole

721 probably covered: and even if it were not concealed
133 it would transmit no current of air inwardly
unless the tide were going out, which
he thinks was not the case. At the time Higgins
was there the weather was perfectly calm,
not a breath of wind stirring; consequently,
the influx of air must have been occasioned by
the descent of the surface of water within: on
the other hand, when the water rises the air
must rush out. This cavern therefore may be
said to respire like an animal; the rise and fall
of the tide acting as a diaphragm, and the
above-mentioned narrow passage as a breathing
696 hole. Jeremiah Higgins also heard the story
584 of the young chief and his mistress, which
823 perfectly accorded in all the material points
173 with what is told above: it appears from his
narration as well as from Mr. Mariner's, that
the natives give this account of the two lovers
as a piece of true history, not a romance.
133 There is a sort of shelf at the farther end of
the cavern and high up, which is pointed out
as having been used for a bed-place.

Finow and his party having finished their
224 cava, dived out of the cavern, and resumed
517 their proper dress: after which they proceeded
634 across the country, and got into the public
roads, to amuse themselves with the sport of
136 shooting rats. These animals are not so large
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773 line accidentally breaking, the act was incom-
823 plete, and matters were left as they now are. They show a hole in the rock, about two feet diameter, which quite perforates it, and in
[643] which Tangaloa's hook got fixed. It is moreover said that Tooitonga (the divine chief) had, till within a few years, this very hook in his possession, which had been handed down to him by his forefathers; but, unfortunately, his house catching fire, the basket in which the
727 hook was kept got burnt with its contents. Mr.
124 Mariner once asked Tooitonga what sort of a
643 hook it was, and was told that it was made of tortoise-shell, strengthened by a piece of the
773 bone of a whale: in size and shape it was just like a large albacore hook, measuring six or seven inches long, from the curve to the part where the line was attached, and an inch and a half between the barb and the stem. Mr. Mariner objected that such a hook must have been too weak for the purpose; Oh no, said Tooitonga, you must recollect that it was a god's hook, and could not break;—how came then the *line* to break? was it not also the property of a god?—I do not know how that was, replied Tooitonga; but such is the account they give, and I know nothing farther about it.

634 A few days after this excursion, Finow hav-
484 ing portioned out several of the smaller

the older chiefs and matabooles, and Finow, in 634
consequence, orders a *fono* to be addressed to 627
the people, in which the impropriety of the 684
conduct of the young chiefs is pointed out: the 577
offenders receive a suitable admonition, and are
ordered to desist from such ill behaviour for
the future. From one cause or another, there 634
is usually a *fono*, either general or partial, every
fourteen or twenty days. It will be easily understood
that addresses of this kind are absolutely
and frequently necessary, for the preservation
of tolerable decency and good order,
among a people who have no knowledge of any
means of graphic communication. The speech 634
is generally made by some old and principal
mataboole*, as it was on this occasion, when 276
the ceremony was held at Macave, about two [565]
miles and a half from Felletoa; after which, as [537]
usual, a large bowl of cava was provided. The
chiefs and warriors of Vavaoo took a very active
part in the preparation of the cava, to demonstrate
to Finow their attention and loyalty.
After the first bowl was drunk, while all were 634
in expectation that the king would give out some 687

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* The reader will recollect that the matabooles hold a 727
rank in society next below chiefs; they are the ministers, as 669
it were, and counsellors of chiefs: it is their duty also to
attend to public ceremonies, and to keep an eye upon the
morals and general conduct of the people.

634 more cava root to be prepared,—on a sudden
687 he pronounced aloud the word *boogi* (hold or
727 arrest). Instantly all the chiefs and warriors
669 that had been particularly active against him in
[276] the late war were seized by men previously
appointed: their hands were tied fast behind
them; and they were taken down to the beach,
where, with the club, several were immediately
dispatched; and the remainder were reserved
till the afternoon, for what is considered a more
signal punishment, viz. to be taken out to sea,
and sunk in old leaky canoes. This transaction
[166] seemed to show how little was to be trusted to
[167] the honour of Finow, and how well founded
were the suspicions of those Vavaoo chiefs, who
had said that no reliance was to be placed in
him; and that there was little doubt but that
he would take an early opportunity of exercising
his revenge: *they* therefore acted a wise
part, who, as soon as the peace was concluded,
fled at the earliest opportunity, some to the
669 island of Tonga, others to the Fiji islands. It
634 must, however, be acknowledged that Finow
[687] had received information of a conspiracy which
these chiefs were designing against him; and
if this be true, his conduct was certainly less
reproachable *. Finow being apprehensive

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* It must be remarked that their innocence was never positively asserted; nobody supposed that they had actually

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that this attempt might fail, or that the Vavaoo 669
people, in consequence, might again rise up 634
against him, had previously sent a canoe to the Hapai islands, with orders to Toobó Tóa that he and his chiefs should hold themselves in readiness to repair to his assistance at a moment's notice. There proved, however, to be no necessity for their intervention, the conspiracy succeeding in a degree equal to his expectation. Some difficulty, however, was found 687
in securing Cacahoo, a very great and brave 727
warrior and mataboole, amazingly courageous 669
and strong, although he was highly diseased [164]
with scrofula; and, like most great warriors, was always (according to the Fiji practice) upon his guard against treachery. They had therefore recourse to stratagem on this occasion: Mr. Mariner's services were required as the means, for he was present at the consultation of Finow and his chiefs upon the subject, and he consented, being informed that the king's intentions were merely to confine him as a prisoner till some parts of his conduct were examined into; and had it not been for the

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entered into any plan of conspiracy, but most persons sus- 669
pected that they had held discourses upon the subject; and 634
it was generally acknowledged that if a revolt were to take
place, these would be the men likely to head it. Such is 687
the summary way of managing matters in this state of society.

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687 part which this gentleman was appointed to
727 act in the business, two or three no doubt
669 would have been killed, and several wounded,
in the attempt. It must be mentioned that
[784] Cacahoo, owing to his diseased appearance,
was not present at the cava party after the *fono*
(indeed, he was seldom present on any public
occasion, except to fight:) it was resolved,
therefore, that a young warrior, in company
with Mr. Mariner and others, should go and
present him with cava at his residence, as soon
[411] as the above chiefs were seized. Mr. Mariner
was to sit next to him, and was to ask him for
[609] his spear, as if to look at it from curiosity; for
[237] this spear was a remarkably good one, headed
with the bones of the tail of the *fy*, (sting-ray,)
and which he always carried about with him:
Mr. Mariner could take this liberty better than
any one else, as he was more or less acquainted
with him; and being a foreigner, his curiosity
would appear more plausible, and less subject
to suspicion: having got it into his hands, he
was to throw it away, and this was to be the
signal for the seizure. Before Cacahoo had
time to hear of what was going forward at Macave,
the appointed party arrived at his house,
and presented him cava. * Mr. Mariner took

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[634] * Mr. Mariner was not, in many instances, a voluntary supporter of Finow's conduct: but as necessity has no law,

his seat next to him: and, after a while, asked him for his spear, that he might examine the head of it; which having got into his possession, he watched an opportunity, and threw it suddenly away: in a moment his enemies were upon him; but he sprang from the ground like an enraged lion, and burst away from them repeatedly, with such prodigious strength, that it was with the greatest difficulty they could bind and secure him. They then took their prisoner down to the sea-coast, and put him on board a canoe, to be drowned with the rest in the afternoon. [681] [727] [669]

These transactions happened between (about) eight and ten in the morning; after which all

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in some cases he was obliged to conform, where he would willingly have been excused, upon the principle, that of two evils the least is to be chosen. To an honest mind it is always an ungrateful task to use any species of deception. Mr. Mariner was in the service of the king: the latter thought proper to secure certain persons, among whom was one who could not easily have been taken without Mr. Mariner's assistance; that is to say, without bloodshed and a loss of lives. The king was on all occasions his friend and protector; he felt it therefore his duty to conform to his views, where there appeared nothing intrinsically bad. Had he known what would have been the fate of Cacahoo, viz. to be condemned without trial,—let the consequences be what they might, he would not have submitted; and, in that case, by losing Finow's friendship, and incurring his displeasure, he would not, in all probability, have lived for us to have heard of him. [634]

681 the Hapai chiefs and warriors, that were with
727 the king, appeared under arms, as also a certain Vavaoo chief, named Paoónga, a relation
669 and confidant of Finow; all the rest of the Vavaoo chiefs and matabooles remaining unarmed, lest they might excite in Finow a suspicion that they meant to take hostile measures. About mid-day, or a little after, the large canoe, in which were the prisoners, lashed hand and foot, pushed out to sea, under the command of Lolo Hea Malohi, an adopted son of Finow. They had on board three old small canoes, in a very leaky, rotten state, in which the prisoners were destined to be put, and thus to be allowed gradually to sink, leaving the victims to reflect on their approaching dissolution, without having it in their power to help themselves.

681 The distance they had to go was about two
763 leagues: the weather being calm, the canoe
727 was obliged to be paddled most of the way. In
669 the mean while, some conversation passed be-
[50] tween the prisoners, particularly between Nowfaho and Booboonoo. Nowfaho observed to Booboonoo, that it would have been much better if they had never made a peace with Finow, and, to a certain degree, he upbraided Booboonoo with not having followed his advice in this particular: to this the latter replied, that he

did not at all regret the late peace with Finow, 681
for, being his relation, he felt himself attached 763
to his interests, and as to his own life, he 727
thought it of no value, since the king did not 669
think his services worth having. Nowfaho
stated, that he had a presentiment of his fate [682]
that very morning; for, as he was going along the road from Felletoa to Macave, he met a native woman of Hapai, and as he passed, he felt a strong inclination, he knew not from what cause, to kill her; and this bias of his mind was so powerful, that he could not help turning back and effecting his purpose; at the same time he felt a secret presentiment that he was going to die, and this murder that he had committed appeared now to be a piece of vengeance on the Hapai people, weak, indeed, in itself, yet better than no revenge at all. Nowfaho, among other things, lamented that his friend Booboonoo had not repaired to the Fiji islands when peace was first made, and, by that means, have preserved his life: as to his own safety, he said it was not a matter of much consequence; he only lamented that he was not about to die in an honourable way. Booboonoo expressed sentiments to the same purpose. Cacahoo now and then joined in the conversation, remarking, that he only lamented his death inasmuch as no opportunity had been

687 afforded him of revenging himself upon his
727 enemies, by sacrificing a few of them.

669 They were eighteen prisoners on board, of
[763] whom the greater part, before they arrived at the place where they were to be sunk, begged that the manner of their death might be changed to the more expeditious one of having their brains knocked out with a club, or their heads cleaved with an axe: this was granted them, and the work of execution was immediately begun. Having dispatched three in this way, it was proposed, for the sake of convenience, that the remainder, who begged to be thus favoured, should be taken to a neighbouring small island to be executed; which being agreed on, they disputed by the way who should kill such a one, and who another. Such was the conversation, not of warriors, for knocking out brains was no new thing to them, but of others not so well versed in the art of destruction, who were heartily glad of this opportunity of exercising their skill without danger; for, coward-like, they did not dare to attempt it in the field of battle. The victims being brought on shore, nine were dispatched at nearly the same time, which, with the three killed in the canoe, made twelve, who
[565] desired this form of death. The remaining six
[701] being chiefs, and staunch warriors of superior

bravery, scorned to beg any favour of their 687
enemies, and were accordingly taken out to 727
sea, lashed in two rotten canoes, which they 669
had on board, three in each, and left to reflect [565]
on their fate; in the mean time their destroyers [701]
remained at a little distance to see them sink.
Booboonoo, whilst in this situation, said, that 687
he only died unhappy on account of his infant 763
son, who would be left friendless and unprotected; 727
but, calling to a young chief in the 669
larger canoe, of the name of Talo, begged, for the sake of their gods, that he would befriend his child, and never see him want either clothes or food suitable to the son of a chief; upon which Talo made a solemn promise to take the most attentive care of him, and Booboonoo seemed quite satisfied. Nowfaho lamented the sad disasters of that day, saying how many great and brave men were dying an ignominious death, who, some time before, were able to make the whole army of Finow tremble: he lamented, moreover, that he had ever retreated from his enemies, and wished that, on such an occasion, he had faced about, however inferior in strength, and sold his life at a high price, instead of living a little longer, to die thus a shameful death: he earnestly requested them to remember him in the most affectionate manner to his wife. Cacahoo swore heartily at Fi-

687 now, and all the chiefs of Hapai, cursing them
763 in the most bitter manner *, and their fathers
for begetting them, and heaping maledictions
727 upon all their generation; he went on in this
669 manner, cursing and swearing at his enemies, till the water came up to his mouth, and, even then, he actually threw back his head for the opportunity of uttering another curse, spluttering the water forth from his lips, till it bereft him for ever of the power of speech. They were about twenty minutes sinking, after which the large canoe returned immediately to Vavaoo.

687 Booboonoo and Nowfaho were both men that
157 bore a most amiable character: in time of war they were brave and enterprising; in time of peace, gentle and humane. The conduct of
[682] Nowfaho, in killing the poor Hapai woman,
[158] seems to make much against his humanity;

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[195] * The curses used among the Tonga people are very numerous;
[264] but, for the most part, they are rather horrible commands than curses, and are, generally, in regard to
[266] maltreating one's relations, or eating one's superior relations; for it is considered a crime to eat food which a superior relation has touched; how much more, therefore, to eat that relation himself! For a sample;—"Bake your grandfather till his skin turns to cracknel, and gnaw his skull for your share!"—"Go, and ravish your own sister!"—"Dig up your father by moonlight, and make soup of his bones," &c. &c. Many of their sayings, in this way, are too indelicate to mention.

823 On this rock in former times, as popular tradi-
669 tion records, a band of young chiefs, the heads
[133] of a conspiracy, took refuge from the rage of
their adversaries, and held the place during six
months*; it being quite inaccessible, except
by one narrow path, exceedingly steep and
dangerous, not wide enough to allow two per-
sons to pass up abreast. This passage was, of
course, perfectly under the command of those
above, who, by rolling large stones down,
could, at any time, hurl destruction upon
whomsoever might rashly attempt to ascend.
Here they remained in security, as long as
their stock of provisions lasted, and even when
this was expended, they refused to yield, till
famine and raging thirst had destroyed all but
three, who, being tempted by a promise of par-
don, gave themselves up to their adversaries.
823 Scarcely was this done when they were taken
687 before the king, who cruelly ordered them to
727 be massacred in his presence. The number of
669 those who died upon the rock were five, and
they were buried on the spot: three of the
graves are still very apparent; the other two
are pointed out, but they are not in so distinct
[829] a state. The natives, now and then, ascend
[484] this rock, to enjoy the sublime beauty of the

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* They had supplied the place beforehand with *ma*, on which they lived during the whole time.

surrounding scenery, or to reflect on the fate of 823
those rebellious men, who, so long ago, de- 687
parted from the scene of public tumult, by 829
dying in an unsuccessful attempt to change the 484
order of things. Here the moral reflections of
the natives are sometimes heard in the follow- 727
ing strain; "Where now are those men who 669
once held up their heads in defiance of their
chiefs? where now is the proud boast of su-
periority? Their bodies lie here mingled
with the dust, and their names are almost
forgotten[*]!—But their souls! how are *they* 823
affected? are they now the same ambitious 687
spirits in Bolotoo, as they were once in 829
Tonga, when they animated this silent dust 775
which is now all that remains of them?—are 669
they still the partizans of sedition, tumult, and war?—but no! in Bolotoo they are all gods, and see with a clear understanding what is right, without the folly of fighting!"

Such are the reflections of those who visit [484]
this spot and view the lonesome habitations of the dead; but it is not often that such visits are made, owing to the difficulty of the ascent,

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[*] The names of some of these chiefs are still known to a few [173]
of the old mataboolies, who have been at the pains of inquir- [565]
ing particulars from their fathers; but the cause in which they suffered is very imperfectly understood, and, no doubt, mixed up with a great deal of invention and surmise.

226 month of July, when the natives flock to this
285 plantation for the purpose of catching them,
where having procured a quantity, they take
them home to their families in baskets made of
plaited leaves of the cocoa-nut tree.

Mahe Boogoo, the chief to whom this valu-
423 able piece of ground belonged, being about to
431 go and reside at the Hapai islands, made a pre-
634 sent of this delightful spot to the king. Mr.
Mariner, having now nothing particular in
727 which to employ himself, the war being at an
423 end, begged of the king to give up this planta-
425 tion to him, that he might amuse himself by
634 seeing it properly cultivated: to this the king,
651 after a little hesitation, consented; when Mr.
609 Mariner requested the farther favour that he
might be exempt from all taxes, that no chief might despoil his plantation, under pretext of levying any species of contribution; and this exemption, he observed, would be no more than what was consistent with the Tonga custom, which exacts no contribution from foreigners, unless indeed it be upon some sacred occasion, as the ceremony of *inachi*, &c. To this also the king gave his assent, upon mutual agreement, that the whole plantation was to be considered at Finow's service, as being the father and protector of Mr. Mariner, but that he would not take any thing nor trespass upon it

in any way without Mr. Mariner's consent, 727
who was to regulate every thing regarding it 423
just as he pleased, and was henceforth to consider 634
it as his property, together with all the [425]
persons who worked on it, consisting of thirteen men and eight women. To these the king gave orders they should pay the same attention and respect to Mr. Mariner as to himself or their former chief; he moreover informed the *matooa*, or overseer, that he had invested Mr. Mariner with full power to dispatch any of them with the club that failed in their duty, or neglected in any respect to shew proper attention to their new master. To this, in the usual form, they all returned thanks to the king for the new chief he had been pleased to appoint over them, and expressed their hopes that they should never deserve punishment by any want
of respect towards the "stranger chief." As [431]
soon as Mr. Mariner entered upon his new possessions, he gave orders to get ready a large bale of gnatoo, which he sent to Finow as a present.

About this time Mr. Mariner was very near 727
being devoured by a shark. One of his servants [226]
that worked upon the plantation had laid pots about four feet deep in the water for the purpose of catching cray-fish, and Mr. Mariner one afternoon dived down to examine them, in

72 hopes that he should be able to fulfil a promise
[226] he had made to Toobó mo Laképa the Prince's favourite wife (whose situation required a few indulgences) to bring her some of this sort of fish. The spot was just upon the perpendicular declivity of a shelf of rocks. Having come up to take breath with the intention of going down a second time, he saw with terror the dorsal fin of a shark gliding swiftly along the surface of the water directly towards him; he instantly clambered upon the reef and sprung on one side; in a moment after the deadly enemy, coming with impetuosity, rushed upon the shelf (in a foot and a half water) within a yard of him, and had sôme difficulty to get off again. As soon as he had recovered from his consternation, for at first he scarcely knew where he was, he quickly got off the reef, making very strong resolutions to avoid for the future a personal search after cray-fish in such situations.

About a month after this a canoe came from
23 one of the neighbouring small islands, bringing intelligence that a large dead spermaceti whale
[484] had drifted on a reef, off Vavaoo. Immediately all the chiefs ordered their canoes to be launched, that they might witness this unusual sight; and Mr. Mariner went along with them.
[301] They found the whale in a very bad state, half

valuable property would endanger his life: the 171
axe, or the club, on some unlucky occasion, 287
would deprive him of it for ever, and of his life
too.

The whale of which we have been speaking 262
as just found was, for the most part, in a very 565
corrupted state; there were, however, some places where it was not quite so bad; and as whale's flesh was rather a novelty, (and as novelty is often a provocative of appetite) the lower orders managed to make a meal of it.

About this time a ship arrived off the north- 727
west coast of Vavaoo. She proved to be the Hope, Captain Chase, of New York. When Mr. Mariner heard the agreeable intelligence of her arrival, he was with Finow at the small island of Ofoo, on the eastern coast of Vavaoo. He immediately asked the king leave to go on board, who very readily and very kindly gave his permission. Several matabooles were with him, one of whom whispered something to the king, which Mr. Mariner imagining to be prejudicial to himself, endeavoured to distract Finow's attention by repeatedly thanking him for his liberal conduct towards him, and expressing the grateful sense he entertained of his long continued friendship and protection; assuring him that he had no other wish to leave the islands but what was prompted by the natural desire

727 of returning to his native country, and the bosom of his friends. In the mean time he very distinctly heard the king say to the mataboole, "but why should I keep him?" and shortly after, his order to a fisherman to get ready instantly a certain canoe, and paddle Mr. Mariner on board, removed from his mind a load of anxiety. He again and again thanked his benefactor; and, taking an affectionate leave of him, got into the canoe, and pushed off from the beach. There were three men to paddle, who after four or five hours hard pulling came up alongside the vessel. He saw upon the deck, Jeremiah Higgins, John Parish, and Hugh Williams. He hailed the ship; when the captain, or the mate, looked over the quarter, and said, "We "can't take you, young man: we have more "hands than we know what to do with." Mr. Mariner could hardly believe the evidence of his senses;—not take him! when he saw three of his companions already on board. He began to expostulate:—"It is no use your saying any "thing, we can't take you," replied the other. He then offered to procure whatever provisions the ship might want, but the unfeeling miscreant turned his back, and gave no answer. Thus, in one minute, from the elevation of hope his soul sunk into despair; what to say,—what to do,—he knew not. Besides suffering the acute pain

of disappointment, he found himself in a very awkward dilemma. If the natives knew that the captain had refused to take him, it would hurt his reputation greatly in their esteem, as they would look upon him to be a low-born *tooa*, without friends or consideration in his own country. During this time the men in the canoe were too much occupied in viewing the appearance of the ship, to pay much attention to him. Having at length a little recovered himself by resisting the disagreeable ideas that were crowding in upon his mind, he endeavoured to assume a cheerful countenance; and informed the men that unfortunately the ship was bound to a country as far from his, as his was from Tonga; and although the captain wished him to come on board, he had determined to remain at Vavaoo until some British ship should arrive.— With feelings that almost choked his utterance he now ordered them to return to Ofoo. Every body wondered to see him return: his story however was readily believed; but it seemed strange that he had brought them no presents from on board. "What a number of axes he has "got for us," said one ironically: "And what "a heap of looking-glasses," said another. "Beads will now become quite common," said a third; "for Togi is going to give necklaces "to all the girls in Vavaoo." These jokes were

721 exceedingly mortifying, and nothing could be worse timed. He endeavoured to laugh at their humour; and by way of apology for his neglect, he told them that he was so disappointed at not finding the ship bound for his own country, that he had forgotten to ask for some presents: and besides, that he knew she had very few of those things on board, as she came from a country where they were scarce. Finow endeavoured to console him for his disappointment, assuring him in the kindest manner that he should go by the next ship bound to his own country. Some women informed Mr. Mariner that the matabooles had endeavoured to persuade Finow to retain him; but the king replied, that he and his companions had already suffered enough in having the ship taken from them, and being themselves kept so long from their native country, and that he did not think as the matabooles did, that it was the disposition of the Papalangis to return and take revenge!

Another month now elapsed without any im- 484
portant circumstance occurring, when there arrived from the Fiji islands four canoes, bringing a Tonga mataboole, named Cow Mooala and his retinue, who had been absent from Tonga many years: but a narrative of this person's adventures in foreign islands will best form a chapter of itself.[A]

A [For this narrative, see category 116, pp. 307-335--Analyst]

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000 that he was sure they were bones, though they were not at all like any human bones, and he supposed they must have belonged to some fish. To any new comer from Lotooma the first question is, "have you seen the "giant's bones?" But it would appear that communications with Lotooma were not very frequent, since the inhabitants made so sad a mistake as to think Cow Mooala and his followers gods.

484 Cow Mooala shortly took his departure from Lotooma, with three of the native women on board, in addition to his other followers, and sailed for the Fiji islands. Owing to the wind he deviated a little from his course, but at length arrived safe at Navihi Levoo, (as the natives call it, meaning large Fiji: the word Navihi is corrupted by the Tonga people to Fiji,) one of the Fiji islands, to the north-west. Here Cow Mooala took up his residence with the chief of the island, where he remained a considerable length of time, assisting in the war with other islands. The inhabitants of Navihi 829 Levoo are much more ferocious than those of 727 most of the other Fiji islands; this, however, is not stated merely upon the authority of Cow Mooala, who occasionally was apt to exaggerate a little, as will by and by be seen, but upon that of Mr. Mariner, who frequently saw and con-

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000

versed with some of its natives, as well as with those of the other islands, who were at Tonga in his time; besides which he has since been at Pau, one of the Fiji islands, and consequently is able to form some judgment. The inhabitants of Navihi Levoo are not only more ferocious, but they are much better skilled in war than those of the other islands, and are therefore much dreaded by them: to give themselves a fiercer appearance, they bore a hole through the soft part of the septum of the nose, through which, in time of war, they stick a couple of feathers, nine or twelve inches long, which spread out over each side of the face, like immense mustaches, giving them a very formidable appearance. The worst feature of their barbarism is the horrible practice of eating human flesh, which they carry to a greater extent than any of the other Fiji people. The chief of the island was reported to have a remarkable appetite in this way, we must not take him therefore as a sample for the rest; for he was not in the habit of sacrificing his prisoners immediately, (finding them perhaps too tough for his delicate stomach,) but of actually ordering them to be operated on, and put in such a state as to get both fat and tender, afterwards to be killed as he might want them. The hands and feet, particularly the latter, are considered the choicest parts.

islands, and the people are greater cannibals. 000
At the Tonga islands in particular, it may be 171
remarked, that the island of Tonga (properly so 266
called) is constantly in a state of war, and 669
scarcity consequently is much more common
there than at Vavaoo and the Hapai islands, and 261
cannibalism, therefore, much less shuddered at.
At the island of Tonga, indeed, this inhuman
habit is by no means so general as at the Fiji
islands, but then it has not been the scene
of warfare for more than about twenty years,
whereas the latter nation has been familiar,
more or less, with this scourge of the human
race, from time immemorial.

Now we are upon this subject, we may men- 175
tion, that at Tonga, the natives report that some 721
time before Mr. Mariner's arrival among them, an
European ship touched there, the boat of which,
on landing near Mafanga, had a quarrel with
some of the natives, in consequence of which,
three of her crew were killed and dragged up
the country. These the natives embowelled 175
and dressed the same as pork, and several ate 727
heartily of them; but shortly afterwards they 266
were all taken very ill, being attacked with [165]
nausea and vomiting to a violent degree, and
three of them actually died. Some of the na- [829]
tives attributed this circumstance to an un-
wholesome quality in white man's flesh, others

175 to the superior power of the gods of England,
727 in the way of revenge for killing white men.
266 They were strongly corroborated in their opinion
829 of the superiority of the gods of England,
by the circumstance that almost every man who
829 had been actively concerned in the conspiracy
727 against the Port au Prince happened either to
[165] be killed in battle or to die of disease, during
the time Mr. Mariner remained at these islands;
and they would often question him whether it
were not owing to the interference of the English
gods as a punishment; to which he always
answered them in the affirmative, with a
view to his own safety, and to inspire them with
respect for the invisible powers, which, according
to their notions, presided over the welfare
of England and of Englishmen. Some of the
natives, in joke, used to say, that they would kill
Mr. Mariner, to see if the hotooas (gods) of
England would revenge his death, alleging their
disbelief in the unsolicited agency of the English
hotooas, and their opinion rather that Mr.
Mariner himself had been the cause of their
death by his prayers, soliciting his gods to revenge
[565] the death of his countrymen. This,
however, was a notion chiefly of the lower
orders: the higher classes were of opinion, that
the hotooas of England operated of their own
accord, without any intervention or prayer.

563 tunity to relate it. Among Finow's followers,
768 there was a certain chief, a native of Fiji, who about that period fell ill and died: his wife, who was also a native of Fiji, in accordance with the religious notions in which she had been brought up, considered it a breach of duty to outlive him; she therefore desired to be strangled. All her Tonga friends endeavoured to dissuade her from what appeared to them so unnecessary and useless an act; but no! she was determined, she said, to fulfil her duty, in defect of which she should never be happy in her mind,—the hotooas of Fiji would punish her; and thus, by living, she should only incur fresh miseries. Her friends, finding all remonstrances in vain, allowed her to do as she pleased: she accordingly laid herself down on the ground, by the side of her deceased husband, with her face upwards; and desiring a couple of Fiji men to perform their duty, they put a band of *gnatoo* round her neck, and pulling at each end, soon ended her existence*. In the evening they were buried together in the same grave, in a sitting posture, according
[727] to the Fiji custom. Mr. Mariner happened not to be present when she was strangled, but

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[178] [766] * It used to be the custom at Tonga, when the divine chief, Tooitonga, died, to strangle his chief wife; but this absurd practice was left off during Mr. Mariner's time.

arrived in time to see them buried, and to hear 563
the account of the recent event from those 768
who had been eye-witnesses. 727

Both sexes at the Fiji islands adopt the cus-
tom of making an incision in the lobe of each 000
ear, and introducing a piece, about an inch long, of the mid-rib of the plantain leaf, to keep it distended: when healed, they introduce a thicker piece, and afterwards a still larger piece of the wood of the tree itself, so as to cause the lobe of the ear to spread and hang down considerably. This practice, as it is considered ornamental, the women carry to a much greater extent than the men; and at length introduce such large pieces, that the lobe of the ear hangs down almost as low as the shoulder, the opening thus made being about ten inches in circumference. Frequently, by overstretching the lobe, it splits; and there are many women seen with it hanging down in two slips!! Their skins are by no means so smooth and sleek as those of the Tonga people, owing, probably, to the circumstance of their not oiling themselves.

The gods are consulted in much the same [727]
way as at Tonga: there are, indeed, some few trifling differences in the ceremony, but these Mr. Mariner is not sufficiently acquainted with to state accurately: although he was after-

000 [72]

wards at Pau, he had not an opportunity of seeing this ceremony.

Close to Pau lies a very small island, called Chichia, which is in itself a fortress almost impregnable. The nearest part is not more than a hundred yards from Pau; and, at low water, joins it by a ridge of sand. At the place where this ridge joins Chichia, there is a high rock, almost perforated by nature, and which art has rendered completely so. This rock is converted into a strong fortress, commanding the whole island, which, indeed, is rendered inaccessible in every part, by a heavy surf and dangerous rocks, except just to the left of the large rock, and that part is defended by a high fencing. On this small but strong island several natives of Tonga resided, for the chief was partial to them, because his wife was a native of that place; he therefore readily admitted Cow Mooala and his men to come also and reside with him. Cow Mooala took an active part with the chief of Chichia in his war against the people of Pau.

This war had been kept up for a long time, the people of Chichia constantly committing depredations on the people of Pau, without these being at all able to retaliate. From time to time they had taken a great number of prisoners, which were kept apart for a purpose

8

CHAPTER XI.

Arrival of a canoe from the island of Tonga, bringing a chief and two young matabooles, with a petition from Toobo Malohi: they give an account of the late transactions there, viz. Teoo Cava, chief of Hihifo, being joined by the chiefs and men that formerly belonged to Nioocalofa, makes an attack on the fortress of Noókoo-Noókoo, and takes it: the enemy return in the night, and set fire to it—Teoo Cava, making his escape, is stopped and killed by a Fiji islander—Conduct of Ata in the defence of Hihifo, and the bravery of Máccapápa—Grief of Teoo Cava's widows for his loss—Reference to an anecdote in the missionary voyage respecting Eliza Mosey (note)—Petition of Toobó Malóhi and his chiefs to Finow: their reception by him, and ceremony of pardon—Toobo Malohi's conversation with Finow, and his ultimate departure for the Hapai islands. 000

Soon after Cow Mooala's arrival from the Fiji 669
islands, Finow received intelligence from Toobo 727
Toa (chief of the Hapai islands) that a canoe 728
had arrived at Lefooga, from the island of 643
Tonga, with a chief, and two young matabooles. [484]
They came to petition Finow for pardon,
in behalf of a great chief, named Toobó
Malohi, elder brother of Toobo Toa, who had
been long resident at the island of Tonga, and
had defended the cause of Finow's enemies.
As this chief brought very interesting information 128
of all the recent events at the island of

128 Tonga, we shall give an account of these transactions
in the order in which they happened, and
conclude with the ceremony of pardon, granted
by Finow to Toobo Malohi and his followers.

The reader will recollect, perfectly well, the
669 fortress of Nioocalofa, on the island of Tonga,
727 which Finow besieged with the four carronades,
643 and afterwards burnt to the ground, with great
[726] slaughter of the garrison. Toobo Malohi was
chief of this fortress at the time; and in consequence
of Finow's vigorous attack, he left it,
with such of his followers as could save themselves,
and fled up the country, to seek refuge
[167] in some other fortress. This chief had all
along been unfortunate: at the time of the
[177] great revolution of Tonga, and the early success
of Finow, he had fled to the Fiji islands with
his followers, and had resided there some time;
gaining experience in the art of war. On his
[166] return to Tonga, he built the fortress of Nioocalofa;
from which he was afterwards driven
by Finow, as just related: he next took refuge
in some other fortress; from which, owing to
the jealousy of the chief, or some other cause,
he was obliged to depart, and seek shelter in a
third; from whence he was driven by some untoward
circumstance; and thus he became, in
fact, quite a refugee; nobody being willing to
receive him in a sincere and friendly way: till

at length, however, he considered himself to 669
have found a permanent asylum in the fortress 727
of Hihifo, with Teoo Cava, the chief who had 643
made Finow a present of the extraordinary well [166]
trained bird. Teoo Cava received him and his [701]
followers in a very cordial manner, considering
them a great acquisition to his strength; for
they had the reputation of being all great warriors,
well schooled in the military practices of
Fiji.

Teoo Cava, at length finding that no enemy 669
thought proper to attack him, resolved to lay 726
siege to the garrison of Nookoo Nookoo: he
was successful in his attack, and took it with
an inconsiderable loss of men. This being 565
done, he determined, contrary to the advice of 669
his matabooles, to garrison both fortresses. 723
The reason the matabooles gave for the impolicy
of this conduct, was the readiness with
which the enemy made their retreat; which
they thought argued their intentions of returning
speedily, with fresh strength. Ambition,
and desire of larger possessions, blinding him,
however, to his own proper interests, he
neglected sage counsel; and, dividing his
forces, reserved the choicest half for his own
personal safety in the garrison of Nookoo Nookoo,
and commissioned the rest to defend Hihifo.
He had with him Toobo Malohi and his 669
726

gave him the watch-word, which he was unable 669
to answer; instantly the Fiji warrior struck 726
him so violent a blow on the head with his club, that he buried it in his brains: the club had got so locked into the broken skull, that he could not immediately withdraw it; and he probably would have left it there, but discovering what a great chief he had killed, his club from that moment became exceedingly valuable to him; the pledge as it were of future great successes, as long as he kept it in his possession: the triumph of his feelings, therefore, prevented him from seeing or hearing another man, who was fast approaching; and whilst he was in the act of disengaging his club, his own brains were knocked out, and his speculations as suddenly destroyed, by one of Teoo Cava's men, whose swiftness of foot brought him just in time to revenge his fallen chief, by laying his enemy prostrate by his side: but dangers were thickening round him, and he was compelled to leave the body of Teoo Cava on the field, and secure his own existence by a speedy flight to Hihifo; where all who succeeded in making their escape quickly arrived. The 669
body of Teoo Cava was soon found by the 727
enemy; it was conveyed to their fortress, cut [266]
to pieces, and (must it again be said!) dressed for food.

Among the garrison of Hihifo there was a

669 chief named Ata; he was not an old man, but 727 he had a great reputation for political wisdom, and military skill. He was a native of the island, but at the time of the revolution his friends and acquaintance had all gone over to the Hapai islands for peace and safety. He however resolved to remain for the sake of his oldest and most sincere friend, Teoo Cava, and to assist and stand by him to the last; (for Ata was endowed also with some of the best qualities of the human heart). As Teoo Cava was now no more, Ata, conscious of his skill in war, and the confidence which all the men placed in him, proposed to take upon himself the command of the garrison; and his offers were gladly accepted. 669 The other garrisons of the 726 island soon hearing of the death of Teoo Cava, and the great losses he had sustained, several of them entered into league against Hihifo, and shortly commenced a siege, which lasted fourteen days; but at length, quarrelling among themselves, and finding the besieged hold out so manfully, and withal being struck with awful astonishment, at the extraordinary bravery of Maccapapa*, who was said to be invincible by the immediate protection of the gods;—they raised the siege, and each party

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[727 166] * It will be recollected that Maccapapa was formerly in the service of Toe Oomoo; but at the peace he left Vavaoo, apprehensive that Finow might play him some treachery.

repaired as quickly as possible to its own fortress, 669 lest it should be taken possession of by 726 some enemy. During the siege, all the women made themselves remarkable by their resolute assistance in the defence of the place; lest, for want of men, it should be taken by the enemy. The widows of Teoo Cava*, however, were so [768] afflicted at his loss, that many of them, it is [762] said, strangled themselves†.

At this time, Toobo Malohi sent word to his 669 727

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* Speaking of Teoo Cava calls to mind a circumstance, 728 mentioned in the second missionary voyage, respecting Eliza 643 Mosey and a black woman, both belonging to the American ship Duke of Portland, Captain Lovat Melon; the date is [727] not mentioned. Through the treachery of Teoo Cava, (who from mistake of pronunciation they call Ducava,) the crew were all murdered, excepting three or four persons, among whom were Eliza Mosey, and the black woman. The latter was still at the Hapai islands when Mr. Mariner left; she latterly became insane, but lived as a sort of domestic, (being harmless,) with a certain female chief, who treated her kindly. Eliza Mosey became one of the wives of Teoo Cava, who was much envied by the other chiefs on that account, she being a white woman. She made her escape afterwards, in the Union of New York, and arrived at Port Jackson, where she remained. Mr. Mariner has since accidentally heard from a woman who had been at Port Jackson, that Eliza Mosey returned afterwards to Tonga, with a ship that went for the purpose of laying in a cargo of pork, but which was shortly afterwards wrecked among the Fiji islands.

† Mr. Mariner is not quite certain whether this report be correct: for it is an undoubted fact, that suicide is exceedingly rare among them.

669 727 728 643 brother Toobo Toa, (chief of the Hapai islands,) that being weary of his unquiet and harassing life at Tonga, and being desirous to settle at Hapai, he wished his brother to petition the king in his behalf; and to obtain, if possible, his pardon for having fought against him at Nioocalofa, and to procure leave for himself and his chiefs and matabooles to reside at Hapai, and be henceforth tributary to him. This message was brought to Toobo Toa by a chief and two young matabooles, as before stated. Toobo Toa having communicated this request of his brother and his followers to the king, the latter, after a little consideration, gave his consent that they should reside at the Hapai islands, upon condition that Toobo Toa would keep a strict eye upon his brother's conduct, and be answerable for him, which was immediately agreed to. Toobo Toa thereupon got ready a large canoe, and proceeded to Hihifo to receive his brother, who came on board with all his chiefs and choice warriors; the remainder of his attendants followed afterwards in another canoe. Having touched, in their way, at the Hapai islands, they proceeded on to Vavaoo, to pay their respects to Finow, and to receive his pardon.

796 292 593 554 As soon as the king heard of their arrival at Vavaoo, he repaired with all his chiefs and ma-

tabooles to the house on the *malái* at Neafoo, 643 669
having, besides their usual dress, small mats 727
round the middle, significant of its being a 728
solemn occasion, and out of respect, too, for 796
Toobo Malohi (although he came as an humble 292
suppliant), for he was a very great chief, supe- [593]
rior even to Toobo Toa, as being his elder bro- [554]
ther. Toobo Malohi being informed that the [301]
king was already seated in the large house on [824]
the *malái*, ready to receive him, he and his fol- [576]
lowers, being all dressed in large mats, ex-
pressive of their very great respect, with leaves
of the *ifi* tree round their necks as a mark of
submission, went forth, with due sentiments,
thus habited, and accompanied by a priest, to a
house dedicated to Tali-y Toobó, and sat down 643
before it. The priest then addressed the di- 669
vine spirit that was supposed to reside there, to 727
the following purpose: "Here thou seest the 728
"men who have come from Tonga to implore 796
"thy pardon for their crimes; they have been 793
"rebels against those chiefs who hold power [782]
"from divine authority, but, being sorry for
"what they have done, they hope that thou
"wilt be pleased to extend thy protection to-
"wards them for the future." The priest then [824]
rose up, and laid a piece of cava root under the [788]
eaves of the house: after which he proceeded
towards Finow, with the suppliants all follow-

643
669 ing him, one close after another in the order of
727 their rank, their heads bowed down, and their
728 hands clasped before them, and, entering the
796 house on the side opposite the king, they seated
798 themselves before him and his matabooles, their
[824] hands still clasped together, and their heads
[788] bowed down almost to touch the ground. After
a little time, the priest, who sat between them and the king, addressed the latter to the following purpose: "You here see Toobo Malohi, "and his chiefs and followers, who have been "to implore the pardon of Tali-y Toobó, and "are now come to humiliate themselves before "you: not that they expect you will pardon "them after so obstinate a rebellion, but they "come to endeavour to convince you of their "sorrow for so great and heinous a crime: "they have no expectation but to die, there-"fore your will be done*." After a short pause, the priest again said, "pass your sen-
643 "tence, Finow:" he then rose up, and retired
669 among the people. In a little time, Finow
727 said to the supplicants, "*Toogooá he lo ifi,*"
728 Take off the *ifi* leaves (which is a sign of par-
796 don): of which command they took no notice,
[824] as if unwilling to believe so great a mercy was
shewn to them. Finow again said, "*Toogooá*

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* This speech of the priest is to be considered more a matter of form than the real sentiments of the suppliants.

"*he lo ifi,*" upon which each took off his *ifi* 643 669
leaves, but they all remained in the same posture. 727
Before we go further it must be observed, 728
that there were vacant places left 796
among Finow's chiefs and matabooles for
Toobó Malohi and his principal followers, who [824]
were of sufficient rank, to be called to after
they had received their pardon; but for a 669
great chief, circumstanced as was Toobó Malohi, 727
to obey this summons (which is always 728
pronounced by the mataboole sitting next to 796
Finow) would neither be so respectful nor so 554
prudent as to remain where he was, and take 576
no notice of it, as if altogether unworthy of being 643
so exalted; whilst a chief of less noble rank [644]
would not hesitate to obey the command, and take the seat appointed for him. All this is done upon the principle, that a great chief, so offending, ought to keep himself as humble as possible, lest, having great power and authority, he might be suspected of intentions to equalize himself with his superiors, and ultimately to revolt: whereas minor chiefs, having but little power, are not liable to excite jealousies: besides which, these minor chiefs, being governed by their superior, are thought to be less criminal than he who leads them astray by his authority. This formed a subject of dispute, beforehand, among the company:

669 some thought that Toohó Malohi would in-
727 stantly obey the order to take his appointed
728 seat, conscious of his exalted rank, and fearless
796 of the jealousy of Finow: the greater part,
554 however, were of opinion, that he would re-
576 main where he was, knowing well the revenge-
643 ful disposition of the *How*, and his promptitude to sacrifice those whom he suspected. In a little time this matter was put out of dispute. The mataboole on Finow's right hand exclaimed aloud, "Toobó Malohi! here is a "place for you." The chief seemed not to hear the summons, keeping his head bowed down to the earth: the mataboole again said, "Toobó Malohi! here is a place for you;" but his ears were still shut, and he preserved the same humble posture. The mataboole then said to the others successively (mentioning their names in the order of their rank), "here is a place for you;" and they accordingly seated themselves as their names were called over, in the places appointed for them (i. e. those who were of sufficient rank to sit in the circle, the others retiring among the people), leaving Toobó Malohi seated by himself in the middle of the ring. Cava was now
[276] prepared, and served out to the company, each in his turn, according to his rank, not excepting Toobó Malohi, who, in this case, was

served the fourth: when the cava was pre- 669
sented to him, he neither took it nor raised 727
up his head, but speaking to somebody who 728
sat a little behind him, that person stretched 796
his arms forward, and, receiving it for him, 554
took it away, reserving it for Toobó Malohi, 576
to drink after the cava party should be dis- 276
solved. The company, having finished their 643
cava, dispersed, and Toobó Malohi retired to
take his.

This chief and his followers remained at 643
Vavaoo about a fortnight before they sailed to 203
the Hapai islands; during which time he en- 634
tertained Finow with an account of different
transactions at Tonga, relating what conspiracies had been devised, what battles had been fought, what brave chiefs and warriors had fallen. Every time he mentioned the death of a hero, Finow struck his breast with his fist, exclaiming, "What a warrior has fallen in a "useless war!" or something to that purpose.

Before Toobó Malohi and his chiefs took 643
their departure, Finow repeated his orders to 668
Toobó Toa to keep a watchful eye upon them, 634
and to give him the earliest information, if he discovered any symptoms of conspiracy, for he said he expected something of the kind, as they were all choice warriors, and had been well experienced at the Fiji islands.

frequent screams, or in broken exclamations: 634
O yaooé! ecoo tammy' é! O yaooé! Alas!—Oh! 763
my father!—alas!—Her sorrow was so great 152
that, at times, she appeared quite bereft of reason; 593
and her truly pathetic expressions of it,
joined to those of the widows, and female attendants
of the late king, all beating their
breasts, and screaming from time to time, rendered
the house truly a house of mourning, beyond
the power of the imagination to picture.
The place was lighted up at night, by lamps [373]
with cocoa-nut oil, (used only on such occasions)
presenting a scene, if possible, still more
affecting than that which happened on the occasion
of Toobó Nuha's death.

In the course of the night, Mr. Mariner went 634
into the house several times, partly out of curiosity 727
indeed, but principally moved by feelings
of regret for the loss of his great and kind patron;—for
though he could not in *every* point
of view admire him as a man,—yet he could not
but esteem him and reverence him as a benefactor:
he had received from him great and
numerous favours: and notwithstanding his
faults, there was a something essential in his
character which commanded respect; and Mr.
Mariner felt that, in losing him, he had sustained
a very great loss. The prince checked [562]
him in these frequent visits to the house; urg- [577]

634 ing, that as he was a man, he ought to feel as a
727 man, and not mingle his sorrows with those of
562 women; but if he wished to express his love
577 for Finow, who had adopted him as his son,
and had given him the name of a son whom he had lost some years before*, he should demonstrate that love and respect for the memory of so good a father, by engaging his attentions in the interests of his family, particularly in those of himself, who was his lawful heir;—and not show his affliction by a silly profusion of tears and sighs, which was beneath the exalted character of a warrior.

About the middle of the night, no actual dis-
634 turbance had taken place, but some of the
668 prince's confidents, who were dispersed about
to be on the watch, brought intelligence that *Voona* was holding secret conferences with some of the natives of Vavaoo. The prince, however, thought it advisable not to take any active measures, nor to appear to notice it: he therefore

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[551] * The name of this son was *Tógi Oŏcumméa*, (an iron axe)
[776] which was also the name of one of the gods of the sea: for
[412] as they only obtain iron axes from across the sea, they na-
[177] turally attribute the advantages which they possess, in having
such a useful intrument, to the bounty of a sea god, whom they have accordingly designated by this name. Finow's
[597] son, who was so called, was a great favourite of his father,
who, when he adopted Mr. Mariner, gave him the same name, as a proof of his real esteem. Mr. M. always went by this name, or for shortness sake, *Tógi*.

634 “ in rank, and not like you, alas! great and
764 “ mighty in war!”

763 Such were their sentiments and conduct on
304 this mournful occasion. Some, more violent
565 than others, cut their heads to the skull with
such strong and frequent blows, that they
caused themselves to reel, producing afterwards
634 a temporary loss of reason. It is difficult
764 to say to what length this extravagance
would have been carried, particularly by one
763 old man, if the prince had not ordered Mr.
727 Mariner to go up and take away the club from
304 him, as well as two others that were engaged
[609] at the same time. It is customary on such occasions,
when a man takes a club from another,
to use it himself in the same way about his own
head; but Mr. Mariner, being a foreigner, was
not expected to do this; he therefore went up,
and, after some hesitation and struggle, secured
the clubs, one after another, and returned with
them to his seat, when, after a while, they
were taken by others who used them in like
manner.

After these savage expressions of sorrow had
634 been continued for nearly three hours, the
764 prince, having first signified his intentions to
Voona, for reasons before stated, gave orders
that the body of his father should be taken to
[411] Felletoa to be buried. In the first place, a bale

of *gnatoo* was put on a kind of hurdle, and the 634
body laid on the bale: the prince then ordered 764
that, as his father was the first who introduced [411]
guns in the wars of Tonga, the two carronades should be loaded and fired twice* before the procession set out, and twice after it had passed out of the *maldi*; he gave directions also that the body of Finow's daughter, lately deceased, should be taken out of the *fytoca*, in the model of a canoe, and carried after the corpse of her father; that during his life as he wished always to have her body in his neighbourhood, she might now at length be buried with him. Matters [411
being thus arranged, Mr. Mariner loaded the 127]
guns, and fired four times with blank cartridge. The procession then went forward; the wives of the deceased and women attendants proceeded first in silent sorrow, next followed the body of Finow, the body of his daughter, the matabooles, and lastly the young prince and his retinue. When the procession had got out of the fortress, (the *maldi*, of which we are speaking, being in the middle of the fortress of [411
Neafoo) and had passed the place where the 127]

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* It should be mentioned that the young prince had now in his possession only two carronades, the other two being at the Hapai islands with Toobo Toa. But then Toobo Toa had only half a barrel of gunpowder, and no iron shot, whereas the prince had seven or eight barrels, and a considerable number of balls.

634 guns were drawn up, Mr. Mariner fired two
764 more rounds, then loaded them with canister
411 shot, lighted a match, to be in readiness in
case of need, and ordered the guns to follow
727 the procession, whilst he went last to see that
634 they were properly drawn. It was not the
prince's intention to order another salute, but
764 he had previously told Mr. Mariner to load
411 them again, not with blank cartridge but with
661 shot, and to carry a lighted match in his hand,
for, "perhaps," said he, "we may have need
"of it." This, it may be easily seen, was a
measure of policy; he ordered them to be fired
that he might have a plea for carrying them in
the procession along with him, and he ordered
them to be loaded a third time, as if they were
to be in readiness for another salute at the
grave, but in fact for his own safeguard, lest
certain chiefs should take the opportunity to
revolt.

In the course of two hours they arrived at
634 Felletoa, where the body was laid in a house
764 on the *malái* at some distance from the grave,
349 till another and smaller house could be brought
close to it*; and this was done in the course

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* The body is always placed in a house in front of the *fytoca* during the time the grave is digging: if there be no house near, a small one is immediately brought for the purpose, which, from the construction of their houses, is readily done by the aid of 50 or 60 men.

this case?—he takes frequent opportunity to 634
converse with the priests: he does not tell 157
them that he wishes for peace, but he observes 669
that peace would be much more advantageous 728
for his subjects; lamenting, at the same time,
that the disobedience of the Vavaoo people
obliges him to have recourse to warlike measures:
the minds of the priests, however, becoming
strongly impressed with the advantages
of peace, when inspired they advise him
to make a peace; he, pretending to do as the
gods admonish him, yields to the solicitation,
and permits his priests to make overtures, as if
this step was originally designed by them, or
rather by the gods, and that he consented
merely because it was a point of religious duty
to do so. Thus we find him an admirable politician, 634
although the picture is occasionally 157
marked with traits which do no honour to his
character as a man. Farther instances of this 634
kind may be noticed, such as his cruelty towards 157
his conquered enemies, by starving his 727
prisoners to death in the shocking manner related
p. 78, for which he could have no excuse,
unless to deter others from rebellion. As to 634
his seizing several of the Vavaoo chiefs at a 157
cava ring (p. 276), and ordering them to be 661
killed, it may perhaps be that they were meditating
an insurrection, as he was informed;

634 15 [66] hence such strong measures became almost necessary in a state of society like that *. But it would be rather severe to consider cruelty so great a crime among these people as it would be among us: the evil to society may be perhaps quite as great, but the demerit certainly falls not so heavy upon the perpetrator, nor does the victim, in all probability, feel it so much. To return to the subject, Finow was by no means destitute of the spark of humanity: it was remarkable in him that, although he was rather arbitrary, he hated to see oppression in others, and would frequently take the part of the oppressed, against those who were punishing them harshly; and this Mr. Mariner is confident did not arise from caprice, nor from pride, as willing to make himself the only person to be feared, but from far better motives. [72] As a proof of his sentiments in this respect, the following anecdote is worthy of notice: When Mr. Mariner was first able to explain himself in their language, young chiefs and warriors would frequently flock about him, (particularly

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* It is very far from my wish to extenuate Finow's conduct; on the other hand, I should be sorry to represent him a worse man than he really was. His character no doubt was a very extraordinary one, and I have endeavoured to weigh duly and without prejudice every circumstance that might tend to throw a light upon it.

those who were active in taking the Port au 634
Prince,) and question him upon the use of va- 157
rious things they had seen on board that vessel, 727
and then they would describe the difficulty they had in killing some of the men, mentioning, at the same time, who killed such a one and who killed another, and expressed, by their actions, how much such a man was convulsed when he died, and how deeply he groaned. Whilst talking upon such subjects, Finow passing that way, and overhearing the discourse, would command them not to talk upon a matter which must be so disagreeable to Mr. Mariner's feelings; that the fate of his companions was too serious a subject to be thus slightly spoken of: to which some of the chiefs replied, "but he "does not make that a subject of considera- "tion, for none of them were his relations."— "Though none perhaps were his relations," rejoined Finow, "they were nevertheless his "countrymen." Remarks like these, if not made out of pride, or from a spirit of contradiction, (and Mr. Mariner firmly believes they were not,) may very well serve to convince us that Finow's mind was by no means destitute of humanity; and though he was at times cruelly severe with his prisoners, in putting them to death by ways not the least painful, still this was perhaps on all occasions, to a cer-

634 tain degree, justifiable, as examples to keep
157 others in terror: a method undoubtedly not
727 the best, but such as may be easily overlooked
in a state of society like that in which he
[685] lived *. As another example to throw into the

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* Finow was not considered wantonly cruel, like Toogoo
634 Ahoo: his severe sentences were thought necessary, by
157 others as well as himself, to place his new authority as king
727 upon a secure foundation. It is Mr. Mariner's opinion, in
the impartiality of which I have reason to place the utmost
661 confidence, that had Finow been less watchful, bold, decided,
and severe, Toobó Toa would soon have shortened his reign; or, if *he* had not, Voona would probably have dethroned him, on his return from Hamoa, in revenge for his former loss of Vavaoo: but his conduct was so unsearchable, his discovery of conspiracies was in a manner so instinctive, and his revenge so prompt, bold, and decisive, that the people looked up to him with extraordinary admiration, and pronounced him to be truly a great chief, worthy to be a king. The most judicious of the natives, while they considered his conduct as severe, declared it to be dictated by true policy. If therefore his severity, instead of being considered either criminal or cruel by his own people, was on the contrary thought worthy of admiration as becoming a great, politic, and wise chief *so circumstanced*, I think I am warranted in saying that it "was perhaps on all occasions
[771] to a certain degree justifiable." Finow, beyond all doubt,
was greatly to be condemned, but not for his cruel severity: it was his disrespect for the gods that constituted his great crime,—a crime of such a magnitude that his people were astonished to see the gods favour his enterprizes. It is exceedingly difficult to judge of such a character without entering fully into the Tonga sentiments and habits. These remarks are made in consequence of some observations on the above passage in the Quarterly Review, No. 33, p. 25.

scale in favour of Finow's humanity and discri- 634
minative justice, we may quote the instance of 157
pardon granted to the two boys of the Port au 727
Prince, who, notwithstanding they were guilty
of theft and sacrilege, were excused on account 685
of their supposed ignorance of the extent of
their crime; whilst a native would have been
executed upon the spot. (See p. 163.) His
conduct towards Mr. Mariner must also be no-
ticed at the time when the Hope, Captain
Chace, arrived at Vavaoo. (See p. 303.) It 634
should here moreover be observed, that Finow's 157
temper was uncommonly irritable; when once
excited into anger, his rage was terrible: this
he acknowledged himself, and would frequently
say that his quick temper was the infliction
sent him from Bolotoo*: and in some measure
to obviate its ill effects, he frequently charged
his mataboolеs to hold him whenever they saw
him getting violently angry! This they always
did, and in about ten minutes or a quarter of

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* They believe that every man has some deep-seated evil, 776
either in his mental or bodily constitution, sent him by the 828
gods; but for which they assign no other reason than the
delight they take in punishing mankind: this last opinion
is however by no means universal, the generality of the natives do not pretend to assign any reason; and upon mature
consideration Mr. Mariner is convinced that the malignancy
of the gods is not a Tonga doctrine, except as far as regards
the Hotooa Pow hereafter to be spoken of.

gard to the present Finow. They accordingly 668
went together to the grave, and, after accurate 754
examination, they discovered several bits of 634
gnatoo, and a wreath of flowers curiously
formed in a peculiar manner, invented by one
of the wives of the king, and which they recollected to have seen him wear round his neck a
few days before.

This circumstance being communicated to 668
Finow, and coming to the ears of his chiefs, 754
and of the mataboolesof the late How, produced 634
considerable consternation among many of 661
them. Finow, however, with that cool presence of mind which marked his character, [157]
issued orders to his chiefs to keep a vigilant
look out, and, without discovering the least
alarm, did every thing in the way of preparation
against the worst that might happen. He kept [727]
Mr. Mariner constantly near him, that he might
not be accidentally separated from him in case
of any public disturbance. On all occasions he
endeavoured to make the conspirators (if any
such there were) believe that he was perfectly
off his guard, and in conscious security, and,

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ried in the house consecrated to the tutelar god of the family. [565]
This charm is not supposed to have the desired effect when
the grave of a deceased person is made use of, unless the deceased was of superior rank to the person on whom the charm
is practised.

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628 dead. They brought intelligence that Toobó 669 Toa had ordered all the canoes to be got ready as soon as possible, and put in a state for sea; and all his fighting men to hold themselves in readiness to depart at a moment's notice. In 669 consequence of this order, Lolo Hea suspected, and indeed it was universally believed, that it was Toobó Toa's intention to make a descent upon the island of Vavaoo: hence he took the first opportunity to make his escape with his two brothers; for had he stayed to have come with the invading army, he could not in honour have deserted it, and would thus have been obliged to fight against his own countrymen*. Finow, on hearing this intelligence, was not backward in making the most judicious preparations to receive his enemy, and which he did, although he had no idea but that his intention was to land his men at Tonga, with a view to assist the garrison before spoken of; but still he held himself well prepared, according to the Tonga maxim, that is *never to suspect any thing without immediately making preparations for the worst.*

[713] [727] To the rest of the preparations Mr. Mariner

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[702] * Such is the opinion of the Tonga islanders, that if a man be at any foreign island which is about to wage war with his own, he holds himself obliged to side with the people among whom he is (see p. 179. note.)

got ready a carronade, which had hitherto not 669
been used, on account of its having been 713
spiked. Having nothing wherewith to drill 727
the touch-hole, he collected together a vast
quantity of wood, and made a large fire, in the
midst of which was the gun, of which, when
hot, he readily cleared the touch-hole: it was
then mounted upon a carriage. Thus Finow
had three guns, six barrels of powder, and
plenty of shot, for almost all the shot which
had been fired in the former attacks upon the
garrison were again found and collected. Finow
also sent a canoe to the islands of Togoo,
to the N. W. of Vavaoo, to collect a cargo of
round black pebbles, which are found there in
abundance, to serve as shot. With all this ammunition,
Finow was far superior to Toobó
Toa, who had only two guns, and was withal
very short both of powder and shot. All these 628
preparations, however, were never required, for, 669
shortly after, Tonga Mana's canoe arrived,
bringing intelligence that Toobo Toa had proceeded
with his army to the assistance of the
garrison before spoken of in the island of
Tonga.

About this time there happened a very 821
heavy storm of thunder and lightning, which is
always considered ominous by the natives, and
esteemed the harbinger of some great event,

643 —in the same manner as Finow was carried :—
763 but notwithstanding all this, death overtook
782 him in the course of eight days, after six weeks
illness.

About a month or six weeks after the funeral
634 ceremonies were finished, (which will be described
765 under the head of Religious Ceremonies,
in the second volume,) Finow, who had
not broken his head (as they call it) at the
grave of his father, because perhaps on a public
occasion it would have looked in him like an
ostentatious display of what might have been
thought *affected* feeling, resolved to perform
this ceremony in a more private manner, accompanied
only by a few of his warriors, to
634 whom he now signified his intention. Accordingly
765 one morning he and his men began to
prepare themselves for this affair, when unfortunately
727 an accident happened, which to us
827 Europeans (in the present times) would not
777 have attracted the slightest attention; but, in
the estimation of these people, was a matter
pregnant with the most important and serious
consequences :—for at this time Mr. Mariner,
on entering the house, happened to sneeze!!
Immediately every one present threw down his
club, for who would proceed on so important
an expedition after so dire an omen*! Finow's

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* To sneeze at the moment of setting out on an expedition argues, in their opinion, the most fatal results: even Finow

eyes flashed with the fire of rage;—directing 634
them full on Mr. Mariner, he cursed him with 765
the most bitter curse, "strike your god!"— 727
and, rising from the ground, he demanded 827
why he came there?—to which he answered, 717
"Your father would not have asked me that "question; and I am surprised that you are "so much unlike him, as to believe in such superstitious nonsense." This was too much for him to bear, particularly before so many of his men; and snatching up a club that lay near him, he would have instantly despatched him, if some of the men present had not pushed Mr. Mariner out of the house, while the rest held Finow. Upon this the former wished him good bye*—said that if he wanted him he might send for him, adding, that he did not before know that his presence was so disagreeable. Several men then came out of the house, and hurried Mr. Mariner away, lest Finow, before his passion had time to cool, should pursue him, and effect some desperate revenge: he retired, therefore, to a house near the grave.
Shortly after, Finow having consulted with his [609]
men upon the subject of Mr. Mariner's sneez- [304]
ing, resolved that, as he was a foreigner, and

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who had a superior mind, could not efface from it the depth of the impression.

* The expression answering to this in the Tonga language [192] is *bea ger nofo*, (and you remain,) and is a phrase always used in taking leave of any one.

634 had different gods, his sneezing was not to be
765 considered of any consequence: they then proceeded
727 to the grave to perform the ceremony
827 of head-breaking, when Finow and all his men,
inspired with enthusiasm, cut and bruised their
777 heads in a shocking manner; Finow in particular,
[609] not contented with the usual instruments,
[304] made use of a saw, the teeth of which he struck against his skull with such vehemence and good-will, that he staggered as he went home with loss of blood. These scenes need not be further described; we have already had enough of them.

Mr. Mariner, immediately after this, proceeded
634 to his plantation, resolving to remain
727 there, and see how long Finow would be contented
without his company. This conduct,
634 according to the manners and customs of Europeans,
appears extremely haughty, arrogant,
727 and presumptuous: for although Finow, in this
576 instance, was undoubtedly much to blame in putting himself in such a violent rage, and Mr. Mariner in danger of his life, on the occasion of an accident which might so easily have happened, and might have been so difficult to avoid, yet the latter being so much the inferior, we might suppose it to be his duty first to ask pardon for the offence so unintentionally committed: but this plan would be far from pro-

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ducing a good effect in the Tonga islands: on 634 the contrary, he would have been thought a 727 mean-spirited fellow, ever willing to sink him- 576 self below the dignity of a man, to purchase the pardon and friendship of a superior. And had he acted in this way, the king would most undoubtedly have thought meanly of him, and never again have made him a *confidential* friend, which always implies something of an equality.

In the evening (a few hours after his arrival 634 at his plantation) a girl came with a message 727 from his adopted mother, assuring him that he 576 was perfectly safe, Finow having expressed his extreme sorrow for his own conduct: she advised him, however, not to return to the king till after several invitations, nor even till he came in person to request a renewal of his friendship; for although it was dangerous in Tonga to be *too* haughty,—on the other hand, too much submission would be as bad (upon the principle above alluded to): besides, as she was shortly going to live at the Hapai islands along with her father, she wished beforehand to see Mr. Mariner safe against all future designs and insults from inferior chiefs, by thus counselling him to act with becoming dignity towards even the king himself, whose friendship and sentiments towards Mr. Mariner she well knew. He accordingly took her advice, and remained at the

634 plantation ten days, notwithstanding repeated
727 messages from Finow, and entreaties to return;
576 and at last he so intimidated the messengers,
by threatening to shoot them if they appeared
again with that errand, that Finow at length
resolved to fetch him himself; and accordingly
one morning entered his house, and having
awakened him, saluted him in the kindest and
most affectionate manner, begged his pardon for
his too hasty conduct, and wept abundantly.
After this period they were inseparable friends.

634 During this reconciliation, Finow explained
727 to Mr. Mariner the cause of his unseasonable
827 rage agaist him for sneezing: it was not that
777 he had any superstitious idea of it as a bad
omen, but that it might have this effect upon
the minds of his men, and thus put off his intended
ceremony.

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634 this intention she perfectly coincided, as she
486 should have little use for them hereafter, in the
retired life she meant to lead with her father,
661 —two favourite attendants, however, excepted,
357 whom she begged to take with her. Matters
being so far agreed on, Finow, to avoid the
634 appearance of injustice on his part, gave Mr.
486 Mariner instructions how to act, with a view to
661 bring about his object, as if it were a thought
and impulse of his own. Accordingly, when
357 Tongamana's canoe was ready to depart, and
727 every one in it, save Máfi Hábe and her attendants, she was carried on board, and her two favourite attendants immediately followed: at this moment, when the rest of the women were about to proceed into the canoe, Mr. Mariner, who had purposely stationed himself close at hand with his musket, seized hold of the foremost, and threw her into the water, and forbad the rest to follow, at the peril of being shot. He then called out to Finow's attendants, who were purposely seated on the beach, to come to his assistance, pretending to express his wonder at their folly, in permitting those women to leave them, for whose protection they had often hazarded their lives in battle: upon this (as had been previously concerted) they ran forward, and effectually prevented any of them from departing. At this moment, while their lamenta-

tions rent the air, Finow came down to the 634
beach; and enquiring the cause of this disturb- 486
ance, they told him that Togi (Mr. Mariner) had 661
used violent measures to prevent their accom- 357
panying their beloved mistress, and that the
young chiefs had cruelly assisted him. One of [727]
these chiefs (Talo) then addressed Finow:—
"We have all agreed to lose our lives rather "than suffer these women, for whom we have "so often fought, to take leave of us for ever. "It is probable that we shall soon be invaded "by the people of Hapai: and are we to suffer "some of the finest of our women to go over to "the men who will shortly become our enemies? "Those women, the sight and recollection of "whom have so often cheered our hearts in the "time of danger, and enabled us to meet the "bravest and fiercest enemies, and to put them "to the rout? If our women are to be sent "away, in the name of the gods, send away "also the guns, the powder, and all our spears, "our clubs, our bows and arrows, and every "weapon of defence: with the departure of the "women our wish to live departs also, for then "we shall have nothing left worth protecting, "and, having no motive to defend ourselves, it "matters little how we die."

Finow upon this was obliged to explain to Tongamana the necessity of yielding to the sen-

if they had arrived a little later, war would al- 578
ready have broken out. At the sight of them,
matters were soon adjusted; and their mutual
friendship became stronger than ever.

A short time after this, the people of Hapai 669
clearly shewed their intention of commencing [727]
hostilities; but were defeated in the very act by
the vigilance and bravery of some of Finow's
young warriors, among whom Mr. Mariner had
the honour to take an active part. One day 669
most of the large sailing canoes were launched, 484
for the double purpose of procuring from some
of the outer islands a quantity of coarse sand,
and to convey those whose business it was to cut
flag-stones for the grave of Tooitonga, to different places for that end. Owing, however, to
contrary winds, they were not able to make the
shores of Vavaoo that evening; and, in consequence, Finow, who was with them, proposed to
remain at the island of Toonga during the night.
A short time after, they received intelligence 669
from a fisherman that a canoe, apparently from
Hapai, was approaching, and, it was supposed,
with an hostile intent, as she had a quantity of
arms on board, and many men. In consequence
of this, the young warriors requested of Finow
leave to proceed in a number of small canoes
(as the wind was unfavourable for large ones),
and endeavour to cut them off. After a due

669 consultation this was granted; and eleven canoes,
manned with the choicest warriors, paddled
towards a small island at a little distance,
669 on which the Hapai people had landed. As it
was a moonlight night, the enemy saw them, and
726 concealed themselves behind certain bushes at
a small distance from the beech, where they
supposed Finow's men would land: they were
right in their conjecture, and, as soon as Finow's
warriors were arrived, the enemy rushed upon
them with their usual yell, and occasioned much
disorder and alarm, but soon rallying, they
pressed on them in return so closely and bravely,
that they were obliged to retreat towards the
place where their canoe lay; and here a most
669 severe conflict ensued. Unfortunately, in hurrying
on shore from the canoes, Mr. Mariner's
726 ammunition got wet, which rendered his musket
727 of little use, hence he was obliged to employ
only a bow and arrows. The enemy, finding
themselves so well matched, and thinking they
might soon be attacked by forces from the main
land (Vavaoo), they embarked as speedily as
they could; but, in doing which, they lost ten
or twelve men. Mr. Mariner again tried to use
his musket, and, after repeated trials, succeeded
in shooting the two men that steered (it being a
double canoe), after which he returned with his
own party to their canoes, leaving nineteen of

the enemy dead on the field, besides the two 669 killed in the canoe: their own loss were four, 727 killed on the spot, and three others, who died afterwards of their wounds. The enemy were [726] about sixty in number; themselves about fifty. In this affair Mr. Mariner unfortunately received a violent blow on the knee by a stone from a sling, which lamed him for a considerable length of time. It appeared from the account [723] of a boy, who was wounded and taken prisoner, that the enemy intended to proceed as secretly as possible to the westward of Vavaoo, and, under cover of the night, to make incursions on shore, and do all the mischief in their power.

For the space of about two months after this 724 affair, no circumstance worthy of note took place: no other attack from the people of Hapai was attempted, and all seemed peaceable and quiet. At the end of this period, however, there happened a circumstance, the most fortunate of all to Mr. Mariner, viz. that of his escape. In this time of peace, when he had nothing in which to employ himself, but objects of recreation and amusement, sometimes with Finow, or other chiefs, and sometimes by himself, he would frequently go out for two or three days together, among the neighbouring small islands, on a fishing excursion: as he was one evening returning homeward in his canoe, after having been out three days, he espied a sail in the westward horizon, just as the sun had descended below it; this heart-cheering sight no sooner caught his attention than he pointed it out to the three men in the canoe with him (his servants that worked on his plantation), and desired them to paddle him on board, holding out to them what an advantageous opportunity now offered itself to enrich themselves with beads, axes, looking-glasses, &c.; an opportunity which they might never again meet with: to this they replied, that they had seen her before, but that their fear of his wishing to go on board prevented them from pointing her out to him, for they had often heard their chiefs say, that they never meant to let him go if they could help it; and hence they were apprehensive that their brains would be knocked out, if they suffered him to escape. Mr. Mariner then condescended to intreat them to pull towards the vessel, promising them very rich rewards. After conversing together, and whispering something between themselves, they told him, that, notwithstanding the great esteem and respect they had for him, they owed it as a duty to their chiefs to refuse his request; and, upon this, they began to paddle towards the nearest shore. Mr. Mariner instantly demanded, in an elevated tone of voice, why they talked 727 about the fear of chiefs; were they not his servants, and had he not a right to act with them as he pleased? He then took in his hand his musket from behind him, when the man who sat next immediately declared, that, if he made any resistance, he would die in opposing him, rather than allow him to escape: upon this, Mr. Mariner summoned up all his strength, and struck him a most violent blow, or rather stab, near the loins, with the muzzle of the piece, exclaiming at the same time, "*Ta gi ho Hotooa,* "*co ho mate e*[*]." This lunge produced a dangerous wound, for the musket, being a very old one, had grown quite sharp at the muzzle, and was, besides, impelled by the uncommon force with which, inspired by the prospect of escape, he felt himself animated: the man immediately fell flat in the bottom of the canoe, senseless, and scarcely with a groan[†]. Mr. Mariner in-

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[*] Meaning, literally, "Strike your Hotooa, there's your 195 "death!" which are forms of energetic expressions, used like oaths, on extraordinary occasions, calculated to express vengeance.

[†] This man, whose name was Teoo Fononga, well de- 543 served the fate he met with: he used to beat his wife un- 266 mercifully, for which Mr. Mariner had frequently knocked him down with a club: he formerly had a wife who, in time 761 of scarcity, he killed and ate: since that time having several children, more than he wished, he killed a couple of them to get them out of the way. His best qualities were being an excellent fisherman, and a very hard-working fellow.

727 stantly pulled his legs out straight: he then presented his musket to the other two, who appeared somewhat panic-struck, and threatened to blow out their brains if they did not instantly obey his orders, and pull towards the vessel. They accordingly put about, and made towards her. The one that Mr. Mariner wounded was a piece of a warrior, but the other two had never been in battle, and, as he supposes, did not know but what he could fire off his musket as often as he pleased without loading it: be this as it may, they were now perfectly obedient, and he encouraged them farther, by reminding them that they had a good excuse to make to their chiefs, since it was by compulsion, and not by will, that they acted. In the mean time, he kept a strict eye both upon them and the man in the bottom of the canoe; upon those, lest they should take an opportunity to upset the canoe, and swim to the shore, with which they were well acquainted, and upon this, lest he should recover and attempt the same thing, or else make an unexpected attack: fortunately he did not stir the whole night*. They did not come up with the vessel till about daylight next morning, owing to the distance they had to go,

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* It may be remarked, also, that this was the season for
825 sharks, and their consciences, probably, were not quite clear
784 from having infringed some prohibition or another, in consequence of which, according to their notions, they were liable to be devoured by sharks.

for they were about four miles off the north-west part of Vavaoo, and the ship bore west-south-west, about five miles distant, steering under easy sail, to the south end of that island: besides which, they were much fatigued with having pulled about the whole day against a heavy sea, and were short of any provisions, except raw fish. During the whole night, the man in the bottom of the canoe lay perfectly still, and showed no signs of life, except a slight gurgling noise in his throat, which was heard now and then. As soon as the canoe pulled up alongside the brig, Mr. Mariner, without stopping to hail, on the impulse of the moment, jumped up into the main chains, and was very near being knocked overboard by the centinel, who took him for a native, for his skin was grown very brown, his hair very long, and tied up in a knot, with a turban round the head, and an apron of the leaves of the chi tree round his waist: this disguise would have warranted the conduct of the centinel, but, as soon as Mr. Mariner spoke English, and told him he was an Englishman, he allowed him to come on deck, where he addressed the captain, who cordially shook hands with him. The latter had heard from the captain of a schooner the whole unfortunate affair of the Port au Prince; for the schooner brought away two men from one of these islands during the time that Mr. Mariner was in another quarter, upon some business for Finow.

The captain presented him with a pair of trowsers and a shirt; the latter, it must be said, was neither very new nor very clean; in consequence, he took the pains to wash it, and hang it up in the rigging to dry: in the morning, however, it had disappeared, at the honest instigation of somebody; hence, his whole stock of apparel consisted of the said pair of trowsers; nor did he get better provided till he arrived in China, about seven weeks afterwards. But to return to the subject: the brig proved to be the Favourite, Captain Fisk, from Port Jackson, about 130 tons burthen; had on board about ninety tons of mother of pearl shells, procured from the Society Islands: she intended to make up her voyage with sandal wood from the Fiji islands, and thence to proceed to China.

Mr. Mariner requested the captain to give the men in the canoe, which brought him, some beads, as a reward for their trouble, &c., and also an axe as a present for Finow. The captain liberally complied; and the canoe left the ship, with a message from Mr. Mariner to the king, requesting him to come on board. As to the wounded man, he was, in all probability, dead; at least the other two seemed to think so

by his not stirring, and so took no trouble about 727
him. By this time there were about two hundred
small canoes near the vessel, and several
large ones, so that all the people of Vavaoo
seemed to be assembled to view the brig, for
the whole beach was also crowded. As the
vessel was very short of provisions, a very brisk
traffic was carried on with the natives by the
captain and mate, for yams, hogs, &c.: hence
orders were given to the crew not to purchase
any more trinkets, till they had procured plenty 648
of provisions. About the middle of the day 727
Finow came alongside with his sister and several 634
of her female attendants, bringing off, as a present [431]
for Mr. Mariner, five large hogs, and forty
large yams, each weighing not less than thirty
pounds, and some of the largest sixty or seventy
pounds: these things Mr. Mariner begged leave
to transfer* to the captain, and presented them
accordingly. Notwithstanding repeated messages
from the chiefs on shore to Finow, requesting
him to return, he resolved to sleep on
board that night, if the captain would allow
him, which he readily did. The women, however, 727
intimated their wish to return, not liking 609
the thought of trusting their persons among a 648
number of strange men. Mr. Mariner found it

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* It is a very common thing among the natives to transfer a present.

727 very difficult to remove their scruples, by assur-
609 ing them that they should not be molested. At
648 length, however, they consented to remain, on his promise to take care of them, and to roll them all up in a sail, in which state they laid the whole night in the steerage; and, as they
648 said, slept comfortably. As to Finow, he was
[634] very well contented with sleeping on a sail on the cabin deck. As the weather was remarkably fine, the brig did not come to an anchor, but stood off and on during the whole of the night. At daylight canoes came alongside in great numbers; but from prudent motives, dictated by former disasters, no more than three of the natives were allowed to come on board at a time, six centinels being kept constantly on deck
648 for that purpose. In the canoes were several
634 chiefs, who came to request Finow to return on shore, as the people were greatly alarmed lest he should form a determination of going to Pa-
[276] palangi (land of white people). They brought off some cava for him, but which he declined drinking, saying that he had tasted some on board (wine) which was far preferable: indeed, he considered it so much superior, that the thoughts of cava quite disgusted him. He made a hearty dinner at the captain's table—ate plenty of roast pork, with which he admired very much the flavour of the sage and onions: the fowls

pulse, which goads the mind on in the pursuit 634
of knowledge, at whatever risk, and with whatsoever 157
suffering. But we must leave this subject for the present, to take a farther view of the transactions on board.

The captain had a quantity of pearl oyster- 648
shells, which are considered by the natives a 634
very beautiful ornament, and very scarce among 301
them, as those which they have are not capable 411
of being so finely polished: these attracted Finow's fancy, which the captain observing, made him a present of several; but, however, he did not direct his attention to mere matters of ornament: he reflected that he had very few gunflints on shore; and he ventured, in a very modest manner, to ask the captain for a supply of an article that would be so useful to him* in defending his newly established kingdom of Vavaoo against the encroachments of the Hapai people; and the captain liberally complied with his request.

Mr. Mariner had on shore, in a concealed 727
place, the journal of the Port au Prince, which he was now desirous of securing. The reader may here be reminded, that in the early part of Mr. Mariner's residence at these islands, the late king ordered him to give up his books and

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* Finow knew the use of a musket exceedingly well, and was a very good shot.

727 papers, which were afterwards burnt, as instruments of witchcraft; it happened, however, fortunately, that he had concealed this journal beneath the matting of the house, and thus it escaped the flames. After that period, reflecting what a risk there was of its being discovered, whether he left it there, or carried it about with him, particularly as the times were so unsettled, he confided it to the care of his adopted mother, Máfi Hábe, who faithfully kept it in her possession, concealed in the middle of a bale of gnatoo; which, along with others, was always conveyed to whatever island or distant place she went to reside at: and when she left Vavaoo to go and live with her father at the Hapai islands, she gave it up to Mr. Mariner, who concealed it in the middle of a barrel of gunpowder, without the knowledge of any one else; for although he had at that time considerable power and influence, and a sufficient number of confidential friends, he thought it best to conceal it in a safe place, where no native was likely to find it, and consequently no ridiculous prejudice likely to
727 deprive him of it. To get it again into his pos-
648 session, he obtained the captain's consent to detain Finow Fiji (the king's uncle) on board till the journal was brought to him; and accordingly two natives were dispatched, with directions where to find it: they had orders, at

the same time, to bring back with them three 727
Englishmen that were on shore, viz. James 648
Waters, Thomas Brown, and Thomas Dawson.
In the mean while Finow Fiji, on understanding 648
that he was detained a prisoner, turned very 829
pale, and was evidently greatly alarmed: and even when Mr. Mariner explained to him the cause, he seemed still to think every thing was not right; and expressed his apprehension that they were going to take him to England to answer for the crime of the Hapai people, in taking the Port au Prince, and murdering the crew: the other assured him that his fears were groundless; for, as he was not a party concerned in that sad affair, the English people would never think of punishing the innocent for the guilty: "True!" he replied, "and you "know that I have always befriended you, and "that I am not a treacherous character; and "that rather than assist in taking a Papalangi "ship, I would do all that lay in my power to "prevent such an outrage." To this Mr. Mariner cordially gave his assent, and the chief seemed quite satisfied: his people in the canoes were, however, far from being so,—they raised great clamours, and loudly demanded his liberation; and even his own assurances could scarcely remove their apprehensions. Finow Fiji told Mr. Mariner that he should have been parti-

648 cularly sorry to have been taken away, when
829 his nephew was just in the infancy of his reign,
and might want his counsel and advice, and
thus be deprived of the pleasure of seeing him
govern prosperously, and make his people happy,
which, from his ability and excellent disposition,
he had no doubt would be the case. At length
the canoe returned with the journal and the
727 Englishmen. James Waters was not disposed,
however, to return to England: he was an old
man, and had become infirm, and he reflected
that it would be a difficult matter for him to get
his bread at home; and as he enjoyed at Vavaoo
every convenience that he could desire, he
chose to end his days there.

Finow's sister, a girl of about fifteen years
648 of age, went on shore, and brought on board
829 several other women of rank, who were all
greatly pleased that they were allowed to come
into the ship and satisfy their curiosity. Finow's
sister, who was a very beautiful, lively
girl, proposed, in joke, to go to England, and
see the white women: she asked if they would
allow her to wear the Tonga dress, "though
"perhaps," she said, "that would not do in such
"a cold country in the winter season. I don't
"know what I should do at that time: but Togi
"tells me that you have hot-houses for plants
"from warm climates, so I should like to live all

“ winter in a hot-house. Could I bathe there 648
“ two or three times a day without being seen? 829
“ I wonder whether I should stand a chance of
“ getting a husband; but my skin is so brown,
“ I suppose none of the young *papalangi* men
“ would have me: and it would be a great pity
“ to leave so many handsome young chiefs at
“ Vavaoo, and go to England to live a single
“ life.—If I were to go to England I would
“ amass a great quantity of beads, and then I
“ should like to return to Tonga, because in
“ England beads are so common that nobody
“ would admire me for wearing them, and I
“ should not have the pleasure of being envied.”
—She said, laughing, that either the white men
must make very kind and good tempered husbands,
or else the white women must have very
little spirit, for them to live so long together
without parting. She thought the custom of
having only one wife a very good one, provided
the husband loved her; if not, it was a
very bad one, because he would tyrannize over
her the more, whereas if his attention was divided
between five or six, and he did not behave
kindly towards them, it would be very
easy to deceive him.—These observations, of [12]
which Mr. Mariner was interpreter, afforded
very great amusement. Finow, and the late Tooitonga's 648
son (about 12 years of age,) together with

648 the females, now commenced dancing and singing, at the request of the captain, and which gave the ship's company much entertainment.

628 [727] Before the ship's departure, Mr. Mariner was charged with several messages from the chiefs of Vavaoo to those of Hapai. Among others, Finow sent his strong recommendations to Toobó Toa to be contented with the Hapai islands, and not to think of invading Vavaoo; to stay and look to the prosperity of his own dominions, for that was the way to preserve peace and happiness: "Tell him again," said he, "that the best way to make a country powerful and strong against all enemies is to cultivate it well, for then the people have something worth fighting for, and will defend it "with invincible bravery; I have adopted this "plan, and his attempts upon Vavaoo will be "in vain!"—Several warriors sent insulting messages to the Hapai people, saying "We shall "be very happy to see them at Vavaoo, and "will take care to entertain them well, and give "them plenty of bearded spears to eat, and besides, we have got some excellent Toa wood "(clubs) of which we shall be glad to give them "an additional treat! we hope they will come "and see us before they shall have worn out the "fine Vavaoo gnatoo of which they took away "so much when they visited us last;" (alluding

628 431 some beads, and also his *ofa tai-toogoo* ("love "unceasing.") His wife also sent her a present of three valuable Hamoa mats, with her *ofa tai-toogoo*.

727 648 576 The ship now prepared to take her departure from Vavaoo, and Mr. Mariner to take leave of his Vavaoo friends, probably for ever: the king again embraced him in the most affectionate manner, made him repeat his promises to return, if possible, to Tonga, and take him back to England, that he might learn to read books of history, study astronomy, and thus acquire a *papalangi* mind. [634] As to the government of Vavaoo, he said that might be consigned to the care of his uncle, who would make a good king, for he was a brave man, a wise man, and withal a lover of peace. At this parting, abundance of tears were shed on both sides, Finow returned to his canoe with a heavy heart, and Mr. Mariner felt all the sweet bitterness of parting from much loved friends to visit his native country: he bade a long adieu to the brave and wise Finow Fiji, —to the spirited and heroic Hala Api Api,— natural characters which want of opportunity render scarce, or which are not observable amid the bustle and business of civilized life. The canoe returned to the beach,—the ship got under weigh, and steered her course to the Hapai islands, leaving Vavaoo and all her flourishing plantations lessening in the distance.

000 gained our esteem, and whose kindnesses have won our affections;—in leaving them and the scenes that surround them, never to return, the human heart feels a sad void, which no lapse of time, no occupations, no new friendships seem likely ever to fill up: all their good qualities rush upon the mind in new and lively colours, all their faults appear amiable weaknesses essential to their character. When we lose a friend by death, we compare it, by way of consolation, to a long absence at a long distance; but it is equally just to reverse the comparison, and to say of a separation like this that it is as death, which at one cruel stroke deprives us of *many* friends!

Mr. Mariner, as he looked towards Vavaoo,
727 now fast declining in the horizon, experienced sentiments which he never before had felt to such a degree: his faithful memory presented a thousand little incidents in rapid succession, which he wondered he had never before sufficiently noticed: the late king, though lying in the fytoca of his ancestors, was now as much alive to him as his son, or Finow Fiji, or Hala Api Api, or any other friend that he had just
727 parted with. He recollected how often, at his
634 request, he had laid down upon the same mat with him, in the evening, to talk about the king of England, and after a long conversation, when

Finow supposed him to be asleep, he would lay 727
his hand gently upon his forehead and say, 634
"Poor *papalangi!* what a distance his country
"is off! Very likely his father and mother are
"now talking about him, and comforting themselves
"by saying 'perhaps to-morrow a ship
"'will arrive and bring our son back to us.'"
The next moment all the amiable qualifications 634
of the present king presented themselves to his
view, and as we have not yet drawn a character
so well worthy to be noticed, we shall now attempt
to display it in its true and native colours,
trusting that it will afford a considerable share
of pleasure to the generality of readers.

Finow, the present king of Vavaoo, about 634
twenty-five years of age, was in stature 5 feet 157
10 inches; well proportioned, athletic, and 142
graceful; his countenance displayed a beautiful expression of openness and sincerity; his features, taking them altogether, were not quite so strongly marked, nor was his forehead quite so high as those of his father, nevertheless they expressed an ample store of intellect. Notwithstanding the benevolent mildness and play of good humour in his countenance, his eye shot forth a penetrating look of enquiry from beneath a prominent brow that seemed to be the seat of intelligence: the lower part of his face was well made; his teeth were very white, his

duct, and a few anecdotes will serve to shew 634
that his specific reasoning faculty was very far 153
above the common. He had learnt the mechanism
of a gun-lock by his own pure investigation: 634
one day, on taking off the lock of a pistol 153
to clean it, he was astonished to find it somewhat 177
differently contrived, and a little more
complicate than the common lock, which he had
thought so clever and perfect that he could not
conceive any thing better: on seeing this, however,
he was somewhat puzzled, at first with the
mechanism, and afterwards with its superiority
to the common lock, but he would not have it
explained to him; it was an interesting puzzle,
which he wished to have the pleasure of solving
himself: at length he succeeded, and was as
pleased as if he had found a treasure; and in the
afternoon at cava, he was not contented till he
had made all his chiefs and matabooles understand
it also. He did not know the existence 634
of the pulse till Mr. Mariner informed him of it, 153
and made him feel his own, at which he was 177
greatly surprised, and wanted to know how the 727
Papalangies first found it out: he was informed
at the same time, that the pulse was influenced
by various diseases and passions of the mind;
and that in most parts of the world, those whose
profession it was to cure diseases often judged
of the state of the complaint by the pulse: upon

634 which he went about to two or three that were
153 ill to feel their pulses, and was much delighted
with the new discovery. A few days afterwards
177 one of his servants very much offended him by
727 some unwarrantable act, upon which he became violently angry, but on a sudden the thought struck him of the association between the passions and the pulse, and immediately applying his hand to his wrist, he found it beating violently, upon which, turning to Mr. Mariner, he said, you are quite right; and it put him in such good humour, that the servant got off with a mild remonstrance, which astonished the fellow very much, as he did not understand the cause, and was sitting trembling from head to foot, in full expectation of a beating.

Mr. Mariner explained to him the form and general laws of the solar system; the magnificent idea of the revolutions of the planets, the diurnal revolution of the earth, its rotundity, the doctrine of gravity, the antipodes, the cause of the changes of the seasons, the borrowed light of the moon, the ebb and flow of the tides, &c.—These were his frequent themes of discourse, and objects of his fine understanding;—they pleased him, astonished him, and filled him with intense desire to know more than Mr. Mariner was able to communicate. He lamented
[829] the ignorance of the Tonga people; he was

amazed at the wisdom of the Papalangies, and 634
he wished to visit them, that he might acquire a 153
mind like theirs. The doctrine of the sun's 177
central situation and the consequent revolution 727
of the planets he thought so sublime, and so like 829
what he supposed might be the ideas and inventions of a God, that he could not help believing it, although it was not quite clear to his
understanding. What he seemed least to com- [821
prehend was how it happened that the antipodes
did not fall into the sky below (as he expressed 822]
it), for he could not free his mind from the notion of absolute *up* and *down:* but he said he had no doubt, if he could learn to read and write, and think like a Papalangi, that he should be able to comprehend it as easily as a Papalangi, for, he added, the minds of the Papalangies are as superior to the minds of the Tonga people as iron axes are superior to stone axes!—He did not, however, suppose that the minds of white people were essentially superior to the minds of others; but that they were more clear in consequence of habitual reflection and study, and the use of writing, by which a man could leave behind him all that he had learnt in his lifetime.

One day as Mr. Mariner was sharpening an 634
axe, and Finow was turning the grind-stone, 153
the latter observed that the top of the stone was 177
727
821
822

634 not only always wet, but so replete with water
153 that it was constantly flying off in abundance
177 on the application of the axe; this on a sudden
727 thought puzzled him; it seemed to him strange
that the superabundance of water should not
821 run off before it got to the top: Mr. Mariner
822 began his explanation, thus, "In consequence
of the quick successive revolutions of the stone" —when on a sudden Finow eagerly exclaimed (as if a new light had shot across his mind) "Now I understand why the antipodes do not "fall off the earth,—it is in consequence of the "earth's quick revolution!"—This was a false explanation, and he himself soon saw that it was, much to his disappointment; but it shews the activity of his mind, and how eager it was to seize every idea with avidity that seemed to cast a radiance upon the object of his research.

On another occasion they were returning to
634 Vavaoo from the Hapai islands, where the king
177 had been to fetch some of his property, consisting
727 chiefly of things which originally belonged
484 to the officers of the Port au Prince: among
502 others there was a box containing sundry small
articles and a pocket compass; the latter he did not know the use of, and had scarcely yet examined. During the whole day it was nearly calm, and the paddles were for the most part used: a breeze, however, sprang up after dark,

accompanied with a thick mist: taking it for 634
granted that the wind was in its usual direction, 177
they steered the canoe accordingly, and sailed 727
for about two hours at the rate of seven knots 484
an hour. As they did not reach the shores of 502
Vavaoo, the thought now occurred to Mr. Mariner that the wind might possibly have changed, and in that case, having no star for a guide, a continuance of their course would be exceedingly perilous; he therefore searched for the compass to judge of their direction, when he was much alarmed to find that the wind had chopped round nearly one quarter of the compass. He mentioned this to the king, but he would not believe that such a trifling instrument could tell which way the wind was: and neither he, nor any other chief on board, was willing to trust their lives to it: if what the compass said was true, they must indeed be running out to sea to an alarming distance; and as night was already set in, and the gale strong, their situation was perilous. Most on board, however, thought that this was a trick of Mr. Mariner to get them out to some distant land, that he might afterwards escape to Papalangi; and even Finow began to doubt his sincerity. Thus he was in an awkward predicament: he was certain they were going wrong, but the difficulty was how to convince them of what was now, in all

634 probability, essential to their existence, for the
177 weather threatened to be bad, and it seemed
727 likely that the night would continue very
dark. At length, he pledged his existence
484 for their safety, if they would but follow his
502 advice, and suffer him to direct their course; and that they should kill him if they did not discover Vavaoo, or some of the other islands, by sunrise. This pledge was rather hazardous to him, but it would have been still more so, for them all, to have continued the course they were then in. They at length consented; the canoe was immediately close hauled, and Mr. Mariner directed their steering; the gale luckily remained nearly steady during the night; all on board were in great anxiety during the whole time, and Mr. Mariner not the least so among them. In the morning, as soon as the light was sufficiently strong, a man, who was sent up to the mast-head, discovered land, to the great relief of their anxiety; and the rising sun soon enabled them to recognize the shores of Vavaoo, to their unspeakable joy, and, in particular, to the wonder and amazement of Finow, who did not know how to express his astonishment sufficiently at the extraordinary properties of the compass. How such a little instrument could give information of such vast importance, produced in him a sort of respect-

ful veneration, that amounted to what was little 634
short of idolatry; for finding that Mr. Mariner 177
could not explain why it always pointed more or 727
less to the north, he could hardly be persuaded 484
but what it was inspired by a *hotooa*. He was 502
so pleased with this property of the compass,
that he almost always carried it about him afterwards: using it much oftener than was necessary both at sea and on shore, for it always seemed a new thing to him.

It may easily be supposed, that Finow, with 634
such an inquiring mind as he possessed, took 157
delight in every thing that afforded him instruction, or satisfied his curiosity; not only in regard to things that were very extraordinary, but those also that were moderately common and useful. He was accustomed, therefore, to visit the houses of canoe-builders and carpenters, that he might learn their respective arts, and he often
made very judicious observations. He very fre- 634
quently went into the country to inspect the 157
plantations, and became a very good agricul- 241
turist, setting an example to all the young chiefs, that they might learn what was useful, and employ their time profitably. He used to say, that the best way to enjoy one's food was to make oneself hungry by attending to the cultivation of it.

There were many individuals at the Tonga 634
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157 "duct now might be very bad for the country."
634 Hala Api Api's countenance, and his whole
figure, very well pourtrayed his character: his
157 small quick eye gave an idea of wonderful
142 activity; and, though he looked as if he were a mischievous fellow, yet his general physiognomy expressed much generosity, good sense, and understanding: his whole body was exceedingly well proportioned, and he was considered one of the best made men at Vavaoo. He was beyond conception swift of foot; to see him run, you would think he outstripped the wind; the grass seemed not to bend beneath his feet, and on the beach you would scarcely expect to find the traces of his footstep.

Such is a general sketch of some of the
727 principal men of Vavaoo, who had always behaved in a most friendly way to Mr. Mariner, and whom of course he could not help feeling very great regret at parting with. His attention was soon occupied, however, by the arrival of the ship at the Hapai islands, where she stood off and on during the time she remained (two days) between the islands of Haano and Lefooga.

727 A vast number of canoes came alongside
648 from the neighbouring islands, and several of the chiefs were allowed to come on board. Mr. Mariner now took the earliest opportunity, in

the first place, to procure the escape of any Englishmen who might be there; and, secondly, to fulfil the sundry commissions he had received from his Vavaoo friends. The cooper of the Port au Prince, who, it will be recollected, was the last man that remained on board with him, was now under the protection and in the service of Voona, who, with Toobo Toa, came on board the Favourite. He, therefore, immediately took proper means to get the cooper (Robert Brown) on board, and had the pleasure of succeeding. Other Englishmen were at the more distant islands, and Robert Brown most generously undertook to go for them, at the risk of being detained, or of the ship's departure without him. The captain advised him not to go, if he valued his own liberty; but he replied, "it would be "very hard indeed if one Englishman could not "assist another, although it was at his own risk." He was particularly interested in the fate of Samuel Carlton, the boatswain of the Port au Prince, who had always been his intimate friend. This man's case was rather hard: when he was in England, he was about to be married to a young woman to whom he had been long attached; but thinking he had not yet sufficient to begin the world with, in some business on shore, he thought it would be more prudent to

721 go first another voyage and increase his means, and accordingly he entered on board the Port au Prince. During his residence at the Hapai islands he was always in a low and almost desponding state of mind, and his friend Robert Brown most cordially participated in his distress. At the moment we are speaking of, the latter conjectured that he was at Namooca, and was resolved to run the greatest risks to effect his escape, as well as that of others whom he supposed to be with him, particularly George Wood, the carpenter's mate. He accordingly, after much trouble, and offer of considerable rewards, persuaded four of the natives to accompany him to Namooca, a distance of fifty miles, in a single sailing canoe, where, when he arrived, to his great mortification, he found that the object of his search, as well as two or three other Englishmen, were gone to the island of Tonga, to assist the friends of Toobo Toa, in the garrison of Hihifo. He then deliberated, whether he should push on to Tonga, a distance of sixty miles farther; but the men refused to take him, and he was obliged to return, bringing with him Emanuel Perez, a Spaniard, and Josef, a black, who both belonged to the Port au Prince. In the mean time, three more Englishmen arrived on board, viz. Nicholas Blake (seaman), and

Thomas Eversfield and William Brown, (lads of 727
17 years of age), who afterwards returned on shore, refusing to go away*.

Mr. Mariner was much disappointed on finding 727
that his adopted mother, Mafi Habe, was 628
gone to a distant island to see some friend; the [431]
presents that he brought for her from the king [597]
and queen he left, therefore, with one of her relations, to be given to her as soon as she returned, with some presents from himself, to keep in remembrance of him. He sent on shore, to the island of Foa, for the old mataboole, the confident of Hala Api Api, and communicated to him the message from that chief. He also 727
communicated to Toobo Toa the king's advice 669
to him, viz. never to attempt the invasion of Vavaoo, [628]
but to confine himself to the cultivation and prosperity of his own islands: to which he replied, that war was necessary to keep the minds of his chiefs employed, that they might not meditate conspiracies; and that he should, therefore, direct his arms against some of the garrisons at the island of Tonga. He had the

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* It must be mentioned, that two or three men belonging to the Port au Prince got away about eighteen months before, in a schooner which happened to touch at Vavaoo. Among these was William Towel, who now resides in Cross-street, Westmoreland-place, City-road, and follows the business of a hairdresser. Mr. Mariner was at that period at the Hapai islands, and knew nothing of the schooner's arrival.

727 greatest respect, he said, for Finow's family;
669 but he could not help it if some of his chiefs (as on the late occasion) made attacks upon Vavaoo, for want of other employment. One of the warriors who had been engaged in that unsuccessful expedition was now on board: he had been wounded on that occasion in the arm by
525 a ball from Mr. Mariner's musket. About a
526 twelvemonth before, he laid a wager with Mr.
727 Mariner that he could not hit a mark which he put on a cocoa-nut tree at a certain distance with his musket: the bet was a pig. Mr. Mariner accepted the wager, and the king promised to pay the pig if he lost: it happened, however,
727 that he missed, and the king lost his pig. The warrior, as soon as he saw Mr. Mariner on board,
669 came up to him, and said, smiling, "I find you "can shoot better than you did at the cocoa-nut "tree." Mr. Mariner inquired after his wound, and was happy to find that it had got nearly
[752] well. The ball had passed through the fleshy part of the arm; his Hapai *surgeon*, however, had laid the wound considerably open, and managed it very well.

727 It was very ludicrous to hear the different strange excuses and apologies made by the natives, in regard to the affair of the Port au Prince, with a view to persuade the captain that *they* had nothing to do with it. Many said that they

were not on board; and knew nothing about it 727
till it was all over, and then they were very sorry indeed to hear of it, and thought it a very bad thing: one man acknowledged that he was on board, being there out of curiosity, but that he knew nothing beforehand of the conspiracy, and took no part in it: another acknowledged that he was on board under like circumstances, and he was quite astonished when they began to kill the white men; he declared, that he saved one white man's life, but while he was turning round to save another's, the man whose life he had just saved got killed on the spot. Several regretted [829]
they were not at Lefooga at the time, as they were sure they could have saved several of the Papalangies: they all affirmed that they were very fond of the Papalangies!!

Toobo Toa, and Voona, both asked Mr. Mariner why he had chosen to remain at Vavooa; and if they had not behaved equally kind to him as the king, or any of the Vavaoo chiefs? To this he replied, that he preferred Vavaoo to the Hapai islands, as the latter place brought to his mind many disagreeable remembrances: it was where his ship had been destroyed, and where he had met with many insults from the lower orders on his first arrival; besides, he acknowledged that he preferred the disposition of the Vavaoo people generally, and that he thought

721 it would be highly ungrateful in him to leave the protection of a family that had befriended him all along.

After two days stay at the Hapai islands,
000 Captain Fisk ordered the natives out of the
vessel, and directed his course to the Fiji islands,
to lay in a stock of sandal wood for the China
721 market. It may be proper here to mention,
that the conduct of one of those (who chose to
721 remain behind) was very suspicious. He did not originally belong to the Port au Prince, but was taken by her in one of her prizes (a Spanish vessel), when he gave himself out to be an American, though it appeared afterwards that he was a native of Cornwall. He resided at Hapai, with a chief named Lioofau, who was known to be a cunning, treacherous character, and, according to the accounts of many natives, this man was as bad. Thus much, however, is certain, that when Mr. Mariner took leave of the king, the latter taking him on one side, whispered to him to have a watchful eye upon Lioofau, and the Papalangi, mentioning his name, for that they certainly meant to take a vessel the first favourable opportunity. When the ship arrived at the Hapai islands, this man came on board, expressing his wish to return to Europe, and, as he was not to be judged upon mere hearsay evidence, the captain gave him a

pair of trowsers and shirt, and he fulfilled his 727
duty with the rest of the sailors: though there 721
was, as Mr. Mariner conceived, a great deal in
his manner and watchful eye that looked badly.
Just upon the ship's departure, however, he got
into a canoe, and told the captain that he had
changed his mind and would remain where he
was, and went on shore without returning the
trowsers and shirt. Mr. Mariner afterwards
heard, in China, that he had served the captain
of the schooner before mentioned exactly in
the same way. The gentleman from whom he
had this information in China received it from
the captain himself, who, at the same time, expressed
his firm opinion, that this man meant to
take an European ship the first opportunity, or
at least to be instrumental in doing it, by giving
the natives instructions how it was best to be
done. We forbear repeating the name of this
individual, lest the reports of him should have
been greatly exaggerated; there is too much
reason to fear, however, that his designs were
bad, and this notice may serve as a hint to ships
who may hereafter touch there. The character 181
of the Hapai people is not naturally more treacherous 622
than that of the people of Vavaoo; but
as they have more petty chiefs whose interest 175
they have to consult, the opportunity for treachery
is perhaps more frequent: and if our great

727 circumnavigator[A], whose death the world has so
721 much reason to deplore, had known them in
[181] this respect, he would not have misnamed them
[622] *friendly;* for, in fact, they had deliberately
[175] planned a conspiracy against him, and which
would infallibly have been put in execution, if
the chiefs who planned it had not disputed about
the exact mode and time of making the assault.
721 Finow (at that time tributary chief of the Hapai
175 islands, Toogoo Ahoo being king), was not the
723 designer of this conspiracy, but he gave counsel
634 and advice respecting it. The other chiefs proposed to invite the captain and his officers to a grand bo-méë (a night dance by torch-light), and at a signal to massacre him, his officers, and all the marines; but Finow (the late king's father), objected to this, as the darkness of the night would be unfavourable to their operations in taking the two vessels, and proposed rather that it should be done by day, and that they should seize the opportunity of making the attack on the occasion of a grand entertainment which was shortly to be given to him in honour of his arrival, and after they were all destroyed, the men, who would naturally come in search of him, were to be conducted to the further part of the island under pretence that he was there, and *they* were then to be destroyed in like manner: and thus the two ships, their

A [Captain Cook--Analyst]

crews being so weakened, might be taken (as they 721
supposed), with ease. The entertainment was 175
prepared, and Captain Cook and several officers 723
being invited were present; it happened, how- 634
ever, a little before the appointed time when the signal was to be given, that most of the chiefs still expressed their opinion that the night-time would have been better than the day, and Finow, finding that the majority were of this opinion, was much vexed, and immediately forbad it to be done at all. Thus, no signal being given, the amusements went on without interruption, and Captain Cook and his officers were much pleased with their entertainment, acknowledging it to be far better than any other that they had received at the Friendly islands. (See
his third voyage.) Mr. Mariner had this informa- 727
tion at different times from several chiefs who 724
were present, and in particular from Finow himself, (the father of the present king, and son of the chief who was at the head of the conspiracy.)

As every information must be interesting 128
which regards the history or fate of this great and good man, to whom society owes so much, we cannot omit mentioning some circumstances, subsequent to his death, upon which the above anecdote so naturally leads the mind to reflect.
The people of the Tonga islands behaved to- 723
wards Cook with every external demonstration 175
171

114 vented him from going on shore so often, or so
far, as he otherwise might have done. He was
171 curious to discover what opinion they had of
[829] the natives of Tonga, and found, uniformly,
that they considered the latter to be a very
treacherous race; whilst these, as already related,
accuse the Fiji people of possessing the
same bad character; but, in all probability,
there is not much difference between them in
[726] this respect. From all that he has seen, and all
that he has heard, however, he is disposed to believe
[727] that the Fiji people fight with more fury
and animosity than the Tonga people, but that
the latter, where they have been seriously
injured, harbour sentiments of revenge for a
longer time. Mr. Mariner witnessed no instance
171 266 of cannibalism among them, but they made no
scruple to acknowledge that such instances were
very frequent, and Cow Mooala's account of
the feast of Chichia, where two hundred human
bodies were served up, was confirmed by the report
of several of the natives of Pau, who were
not, indeed, present, but who spoke of it with
much indifference, as having heard it often from
those who were present, and as being a thing so
likely, that there was no reason to doubt it. He
had it also confirmed by a native of Tonga, resident
at Pau, who acted as his interpreter, and

munication: whilst the son was a prisoner, the father had to exert himself to procure his liberation, and in which he at length succeeded, after a week's detention.

As it may be considered interesting to know the fate of all the ship's company of the Port au Prince, we shall conclude this chapter with a list of those who, along with Mr. Mariner, survived her capture. Besides the eight natives of the Sandwich islands, there were belonging to the ship fifty-two persons: twenty-six (including Mr. M.), were on board at the time the ship was taken, and, of these twenty-six, there were twenty-two massacred on the spot: of those who were on shore, three, besides Mr. Brown, the whaling-master, were also murdered, making, in all, twenty-six, who lost their lives on that disastrous occasion. The remaining twenty-six are correctly accounted for in the following list. The eight natives of the Sandwich islands, probably, had a hint from their countryman, Tooi-Tooi, to keep themselves out of harm's way, which they effectually did. The ensuing statement is drawn up in the order in which the different events happened.

John Scotland, Gunner; **Jacob Myers**, Seaman; **William Ford**, Seaman.—Left Namooca in a small paddling canoe, and were never afterwards heard of: supposed to have been lost, as a paddle belonging to that canoe was found shortly afterwards, washed on shore at Namooca Igi.

727 JOHN HEARSEY, Sail-maker.—Left the island of Tonga in an American vessel; but was accidentally drowned at the Fiji islands, as reported by some Englishmen at Fiji.

WILLIAM TOWEL, Captain's steward; ROBERT FITZGERALD, a boy.—Left Vavaoo in the Mercury, a Botany Bay schooner, at a time when Mr. Mariner was at the Hapai islands. William Towel is now residing in Cross-street, Westmorland-place, City-road.

HUGH WILLIAMS, Seaman; JEREMIAH HIGGINS, and JOHN PARISH, Landsmen.—Escaped from Vavaoo thirteen months before Mr. Mariner, in the Hope, Capt. Chase, of New York: this is the captain that refused to take Mr. Mariner on board, stating, that he had hands enough! Jeremiah Higgins now resides at Aylesbury.

JOHN WATSON, Seaman.—Had gone to the Fiji islands with a Tonga chief, but Mr. Mariner did not hear any thing of him there.

SAMUEL CARLTON, Boatswain; GEORGE WOOD, Carpenter's mate; WILLIAM SINGLETON, Landsman; ALEXANDER MACAY, a boy.—Were at the island of Tonga at the time the Favourite arrived at the Hapai islands, and lost that opportunity of escape. Mr. Mariner has since heard that Samuel Carlton came away afterwards in another vessel.

JAMES WATERS, Ordinary Seaman.—Refused to leave Vavaoo on account of age and infirmities.

NICHOLAS BLAKE, Seaman; WILLIAM BROWN, and THOMAS EVERSFIELD, boys; JOHN ROBERTS, a black native of the island of Tortola, a boy.—Refused to leave the Hapai islands under various pretences.

WILLIAM STEVENSON, a child of two years of age, native of the Sandwich islands, the son of a Botany Bay convict, resident at Woahoo, whence the sail-maker had taken him in the Port au Prince, at the request of his father, that he might be brought to his relations in Scotland to be educated. This child was adopted by the daughter of the late king, (the widow of the late Tooitonga) and was much noticed: he probably still remains at Vavaoo, and must now be about thirteen years old, being two when he left his father.

Robert Brown, Cooper; Thomas Dawson, Seaman; 727
Thomas Brown, Landsman; Manuel Perez, Seaman; Josep, a black.—These came away with Mr. Mariner in the Favourite; all but Thomas Brown were under the necessity of remaining in the East Indies. Thomas Brown got employment on board one of the homeward-bound vessels from China, and came to England in the same fleet with Mr. Mariner. Thomas Dawson has since been in London.

Mr. Mariner regrets very much not being able to furnish dates; his only method of keeping time was by cutting certain notches on certain trees (unknown to any one,) but even with such rude memoranda, he was only out in his calculation one day at the time of the Favourite's arrival.

In the ensuing pages, we shall endeavour to 128
furnish a correct view of all the manners, customs, and sentiments of the Tonga people, that have not been mentioned, or sufficiently dwelt upon in the foregoing part of the work, and which it is hoped will be found exceedingly interesting, as offering a striking contrast to the manners, customs, and sentiments of civilized nations; and upon these subjects we shall speak in the following order: viz. Rank in society, religious, civil and professional; religion; religious ceremonies; knowledge; dress; domestic habits; pastimes; music and poetry; and lastly, language.

562 so great a noble; but if a woman be an attendant
597 upon a person of consequence, some respect
554 always accrues to her on that account, because
565 it is a thing publicly known, she forming a part
of the retinue of the chief, and accompanying
him every where; whereas, the relation in which
a woman stands to her adopted son or daughter
is more a matter of private agreement and mutual
597 understanding. Thus, Mafi Habe, one of
the wives of Finow the first, the father of the
727 present king, was Mr. Mariner's foster mother,
appointed by the king her husband. To this
person Mr. Mariner feels himself greatly indebted
for a considerable portion of his intimate
knowledge of the language and true customs
of Tonga, in contradistinction to words
and customs introduced from other islands.
She would frequently take the greatest pains in
teaching him the correct Tonga pronunciation,
and would laugh him out of all little habits and
customs, in dress, manners, and conversation,
that were not strictly according to the Tonga
fashion, or not considered sufficiently polished
and becoming an *egi* (noble.) In all respects,
and on every occasion, she conducted herself
towards him with the greatest maternal affection,
modesty, and propriety: she was a woman
of great understanding, personal beauty, and
amiable manners.

Mr. Mariner took particular pains to make 727
enquiries respecting the above extraordinary 124
story, with a view to discover whether it was 773
only a corrupted relation of the Mosaic account; 184
and he found that it was not universally known to the Tonga people. Most of the chiefs and matabooles were acquainted with it, but the bulk of the people seemed totally ignorant of it. This led him at first to suspect that the chiefs had obtained the leading facts from some of our modern missionaries, and had interwoven it with their own notions; but the oldest men affirmed their positive belief that it was an ancient traditionary record, and that it was founded in truth. It seems strange that they should 773
believe an account which serves so much to de- 829
grade them, and makes even their very chiefs to be descendants of bad men, cursed by their father with the evils of poverty and ignorance. Nevertheless, they readily own the superiority of the Papalangies, not only in knowledge, but disposition to do good; but, on the other hand, they do not as readily confess themselves to lie under a malediction: on the contrary, they maintain that they are far superior to us in personal beauty, and though we have more instruments and riches, they think that they could make a better use of them if they only had them in their possession. Of the chiefs 773

773 and matabooles who related the foregoing account,
some believed it firmly, others left it as
they found it, none positively disbelieved it.
773 Mr. Mariner related to them our scriptural and
traditionary account of Cain and Abel, and expressed
727 his opinion, that they must have received
124 their information either from the missionaries,
or from some Papalangi at an early
period, whom accident had thrown among
them; but some still persisted that it was an
original tradition of their own, whilst others
owned there was so great a similarity between
the two accounts, that they were disposed to
believe they had received theirs from us, perhaps
two or three or four generations back.
773 But such things do not very often form a subject
[521] of conversation among them; consequently
their knowledge and belief of these matters (as
they have no writings) become very vague, incongruous,
and uncertain.

They have several other accounts of the origin
538 of mankind, or rather of the first inhabitants
of Tonga; but most of them are not only
ridiculous but very confused and indeterminate,
and, as Mr. Mariner believes, many are of no
greater antiquity than the present generation,
and invented perhaps for the purpose of passing
away time for lack of better conversation, most
of the natives being very fond of inventing

sometimes to the external eye in the form of a 775
ghost or apparition: but this power of reappearance 565
at Tonga particularly belongs to the
souls of chiefs, rather than of matabooles. It was 775
thought that Finow the first was occasionally 634
visited by a deceased son of his, not visibly, but 727
announcing his presence by whistling. Mr.
Mariner once heard this whistling, as he was
with the king and some chiefs in a house at
night lying on their mats: it was dark, and
the sound appeared to come from the loft of
the house. Mr. Mariner thinks this to have
been some trick of Finow's. The natives believed
it to be a spirit. It is to be observed [198]
that they consider it *taboo* to whistle, as being [784]
disrespectful to the gods. It has already been
stated, that the gods are believed sometimes to 776
enter into the bodies of lizards, porpoises and 775
water snakes; but this power belongs only to
the original gods, not to the souls of chiefs.

There is no future place of existence for the 775
souls of men but Bolotoo, and, consequently, 784
no state of future punishment; all rewards for
virtue, and punishments for vice, being inflicted
on mankind in this world, as before noticed.
When Mr. Mariner acquainted some of [727]
them with the Christian doctrine of eternal punishment, [829]
they said that it was "very bad indeed
for the Papalangies."

793 their being priests, unless when actually inspired,
[787] and hold no known conferences together,
as an allied body. Mr. Mariner frequently as-
171 sociated with them, knew their general conduct,
[554] and inquired the opinion of all classes of the
[727] natives respecting them; and, after all, has no
[124] reason to think that they combine together for
the purpose of deceiving the people. He found
nothing that he conceived very remarkable in
their general character: if there was any difference
between them and the rest of the natives,
it was that they were *rather* more given
to reflection, and somewhat more taciturn, and
probably greater observers of what was going
[292] forward. They have no peculiarity of dress to
distinguish them. The most remarkable of their
793 prophecies, if they deserve that name, are those
787 mentioned vol. i. on the occasion of a young
chief being inspired by a female spirit from Bolotoo;
and on that of the illness of Finow and
his daughter, when one became better the other
793 became worse, as the priest foretold. The priests
565 associate with the chiefs as much as other matabooles
643 and mooas; and, although Tooitonga
and Veachi are considered divine chiefs, still
they have no more to do with the priests, nor
are they any otherwise connected with them,
nor related to them, than are other chiefs.

128 Having thus far given a general view of the

tooas who till the ground, and remain constantly 581
so; the unmarried women, therefore, live prin- [589]
cipally at the mooa, or place where the chiefs, matabooles, &c. dwell, and are attendants upon them or their wives. Girls that are too young to be marriageable are not taken into account. Having thus ascertained, as nearly as possible, the proportion of married women, we shall make an inquiry how far it may reasonably be supposed they are entitled to the reputation of
fidelity. During the whole of Mr. Mariner's 837
four years residence at one or other of these 727
islands, he had frequent opportunities of inti-
macy with the wives of chiefs; for being a fo- 609
reigner, and a white man, he was free from a 123
great many restrictions to which the natives are subject: for instance, whenever he pleased he could go in the houses of Finow's wives, or of the wives of other chiefs, and converse freely with them as long as he chose, which was a liberty that no male native could take beside the husband, relations, or the cooks that carried in the victuals; and from habit they became so much accustomed to his company and conversation as to think very little more of his presence than of one of their own sex, and consequently he had every favourable opportunity of becoming acquainted with their habits and sentiments, particularly as one of the old king's wives, his

837 adopted mother, was a woman of very good sense and unaffected manners, and freely dis-
727 coursed with him upon all points that related to
609 her happiness, to that of her female acquaint-
123 ance, or to the condition of the women in general; besides which, it must be recollected, that Mr. Mariner, being upon the greatest intimacy with the principal chiefs, was acquainted with most of their intrigues, which they did not scruple to relate to him, both on account of the confidence they had in him, and his being a foreigner*.

837 With such opportunities of knowing the habits of the natives, relative to the subject in question, Mr. Mariner is decidedly of opinion that infidelity among the married women is comparatively very rare. He only recollects three successful instances of planned intrigue during the whole of his time; one at the Hapai islands, on the part of Voogi, (the young chief mentioned on the occasion of the old king's death,) who was considered the handsomest man at the Tonga islands; and two on the part of the present king, whose high rank and authority

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* This seems an odd reason for placing confidence in such matters; but it arises from this circumstance, that, being a foreigner, he was not supposed to take that interest in their concerns which might lead a native to thwart any conduct which he did not happen to approve of.

837 small degree, and in no few respects, the happiness
and comfort of their wives. In such a
case of amour, the female he is attached to
never offers to associate with the wife during
the time she cohabits with the husband; for
this would be thought a great insult, though
afterwards she may, as freely as if nothing had
happened, even though the wife may have
[152] known of the transaction. The women of
course feel occasionally much jealousy, but it is
seldom strongly expressed, and very rarely produces
any fatal consequences: pride generally
causes them to conceal this passion.

With respect to the unmarried men, their
836 conduct is of course free, but they seldom make
any deliberate attempts upon the chastity of
839 other men's wives. Rape, however, sometimes
happens, and young chiefs are the perpetrators:
but if a woman is known to be married, even
though her husband be only a *tooa*, it would
most likely save her from this outrage; and if
she did not choose to give her consent, she
might go free without farther molestation.
● [727] When a woman is taken prisoner (in war), she
generally has to submit; but this is a thing of
course, and considered neither an outrage nor a
dishonour: the only dishonour being to be a
prisoner, and consequently a sort of servant to
[684] the conqueror. Rape, though always con-

degree of credit, and charms, which they sometimes 787
practise, are more or less connected with
their religion, we shall say something of them,
before concluding the present subject. Most
of their omens we have already had occasion to
mention, and have given instances of in the
course of the narrative. As to dreams, (see [828]
Vol. I. chap. 4 and 14.) Thunder and lightning [821]
(same vol. chap. 12 and 14.) Sneezing [827]
(same vol. chap. 14.) These omens obtain almost
universal credit; and they are thought to
be direct indications from the gods of some
event that is about to happen. There is a certain 787
species of bird which they call *chicota'*, 825
which is very apt to make a sudden descent,
and dart close by one, making a shrieking
noise: this bird they suppose to be endowed
with a knowledge of futurity, and they consider
this action to be a warning of some evil that is
about to happen.

As Mr. Mariner was once going out with the 787
present king, and a party of men, upon some 825
excursion against the enemy, one of these birds 727
made a sudden descent, passed over their heads,
settled on a tree, passed over their heads again,
and again settled; upon which the majority,
not excepting the king, were for returning immediately;
but Mr. Mariner laughed at their
superstition, and, to prove that the bird had no

787 great insight into matters of futurity, he shot
825 it with his musket: but, however, this did not
727 prevent them from going back to their garrison; and several had a full conviction that Mr. Mariner would soon be killed for this sacrilege.

754 In respect to the charms practised among them, we have also a few words to say. The principal is that called *tatáo*, which has already
[787] been described, Vol. I. chap. 14.[A] There are
[755] only two other practices which can well come under this head, viz. *câbe*, or rather *vangi*, which means a curse, or a malevolent order or command; and *ta nioo*, a charm to discover whether a sick person will live or die. Of the former, viz. *câbe*, we have given instances (Vol. I. p. 284), from which it will appear that they are chiefly malevolent wishes, or commands, that the object may eat, or otherwise maltreat his relations or gods; and when we come to reflect that they believe in no future place of punishment, but that all human evils are the consequences of crimes, and that disrespect to one's superior relations is little short of sacrilege to the gods, these malevolent commands, however ridiculous some of them may appear to us, amount to the most horrible curses; for if such commands were fulfilled, nothing less than the most dreadful of human miseries would be ex-

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A [See 2: Mariner, category 116, pp. 424-425--Analyst]

but very seldom, use infusions of a few plants, 757
which produce, however, no sensible effect, 782
either upon the system or upon the disease, 755
and we may readily conceive in how little 752
esteem such remedies are held when the king's
daughter, whose life so great pains were taken
to preserve, took none of them, nor did any one
think of proposing them. The idea of giving [177]
these infusions was first taken from the natives
of the Fiji islands, who have the repute of
being skilful in the management of internal remedies:
and though almost all the surgical
operations known and practised at the Tonga
islands have avowedly been borrowed from the
same source, and followed up with a considerable
degree of skill and success, yet the Tonga
people have generally failed in the former, and
for the cure of constitutional ailments depend
upon the mercy of the gods, without any interference
on their own parts, except in the way
of invocation and sacrifice. In such a state of 755
things, it would be natural to suppose that they
frequently make use of charms, amulets, &c. to
assist in the cure; but this, however, is never
done, for they have not the most distant idea
of this sort of superstition, which prevails so
much over almost all the world, even in the
most civilized countries. The natives of the 757
Sandwich islands, however, appear to have a 171
727

757 knowledge of some medicines, but whether from
171 original discoveries of their own, or from the
727 information of Europeans, Mr. Mariner could
not obtain any information from those natives who were with him at Vavaoo. One of these Sandwich islanders (a petty chief) professed some knowledge of the healing art, and it so happened that Mr. Mariner was once the subject of his skill. Feeling himself much indisposed by a disordered state of the stomach and bowels, attended with head-ache and drowsiness, this Sandwich islander proposed to give him some internal remedies, whilst a native of Tonga, on the other hand, very much wanted him to lose some blood (by scarification with shells on the arms, legs, &c.) The remedies proposed by the former were an emetic and a cathartic: the cathartic consisted chiefly of the sweet potatoe grated, and the juice of the sugar-cane; to this, however, was added the juice of some other vegetable substance, with which Mr. Mariner was not acquainted. The emetic consisted of two infusions, one of certain leaves, and the other of a particular root, both unknown to him: the Sandwich islander informed him that the root was necessary to counteract the effect of the leaves, which was very powerful, and might, in a large dose, and without such addition, kill him. Upon this

discouraging information, the native of Tonga, 757
with his scarifying shells, redoubled his per- 171
suasions, ridiculed the remedies of the other, 727
and, on understanding what effect they would have, laughed most heartily at the idea of curing a sick man by means which would make a healthy man sick. The remedies of the surgeon, however, were not more agreeable than those of the physician, and the patient was at a loss to know to whose care he should entrust his health; when the latter signified his intention of taking some of his own physic, which was the best proof he could possibly give of his confidence in it: two equal doses were accordingly prepared; the patient took one, and the doctor took the other. The cathartic was first given, and the emetic about an hour afterwards: the latter operated in about another hour, and the former, in conjunction with it, in about two hours and a half. They both evinced abundant evidence of their respective properties, and the following morning Mr. Mariner found himself perfectly well: which happy result the man who wanted to bleed him could by no means attribute to the remedies he had taken! The Sandwich islander, notwithstanding he was much laughed at, particularly about his cathartics, obtained at length a considerable share of credit for his skill. Finow took his

757 remedies twice with very good effect, which
171 encouraged some others to try; but as these
circumstances took place only a short time be-
727 fore Mr. Mariner left, and consequently only a few trials had been made, we ought not to speak of them as constituting the medical knowledge of the Tonga people; but as this Sandwich island chief was a man of considerable judgment, and, as Mr. Mariner has every reason to think, a good observer, we indulge the hope that no ill success, at an early period, has destroyed confidence in the adoption of two such useful remedies.

The ceremonies of invocation in behalf of
755 sick people have already been described in the ac-
782 count of the sickness of the late king's daughter: the sacrifices adopted on similar occasions are *tootooni'ma* and *nawgia;* cutting off fingers and strangling children: these also have both been described; the latter is only done for very
128 great chiefs. We shall now proceed to speak of their operative surgery, and constitutional diseases, as far as Mr. Mariner's observation can lead him to speak with accuracy.

No native of Tonga undertakes to practise
752 surgery unless he has been at the Fiji islands,
177 where constant wars afford great opportunities of becoming skilful; and no native of Tonga would employ a surgeon who had not been

285 of the nut, and have rather the appearance of
415 wicker-work: the latter are sometimes variously
[531] stained and ornamented with beads or shells
[462] worked in. The larger and coarser baskets are
generally made by men, to hold axes and other
tools in: also the baskets used to hold victuals,
made of the leaves of the cocoa-nut tree, are
generally made by men.

285 *Bawlá*, mats for thatching houses, are either
[338] made by men or women, but more frequently
by the former.

462 Most of these mats, baskets, &c. are made
by women of some rank as an amusing as well
565 as profitable occupation, exchanging them af-
[285] terwards for other things: (See p. 95 of this
[436] volume). Making of combs, the teeth of which
[303] consist of the mid-rib of the cocoa-nut leaf, is
also an employment of women of rank. Making
289 thread is an occupation of females of the lower
[462] order: it is performed by twisting the separate
[565] parts of the thread, in the act of rolling them
with the palm of the hand along the thigh,
and by a return of the hand, twisting them together the contrary way. The material of the
thread is the prepared bark of the *olongá*.
413 Needles are generally made by carpenters out
241 of human thigh bones, which are procured from
727 their enemies slain in battle: the only use they
396 have for them is to make sails.

effort to make effective a claim not too well grounded in right. He was 175
slain within a few weeks of the outbreak of hostlities.

In the battle of Toafa, Finau won a decisive victory over the forces 669
of Hihifo. The chiefs Ata, Vahai, Vaea were not only defeated, but 726
wounded also. Tradition records their shame. It is said that they lay 634
wounded together, and talked about the war. "I've got a new name," said 175
Ata.

"What is it?" inquired his partners in distress. "Tofua i Pangai" (All 669
in Pangai have fallen) he replied. 727

Vahai then said that he, too, had a new name, Langoia i Pangai (Re- 553
jected, neglected, in Pangai); and Vaea completed the mournful trio by saying that his name was Kuea i Pangai (Shamed in Pangai).

Although none of the European chroniclers mentioned it, native tradi- 175
tion relates that Finau marked his victory by setting up a white pig as king 669
in Tongatabu, appointing one of his partisans, Veahahake, as the pig's 727
representative in the actual business of government.

But Finau won no permanent success in Tongatabu. It was not long 669
before Vahai led an army through the island from west to east, sweeping 726
the districts that had supported Finau, though Finau was evidently not present himself. A great heap of slain on the eastern extremity of Tongatabu was Vahai's trophy to this victory. It is said that he bade his men continue the massacre till the heap of bodies was so high that Eua could be seen from its summit (37, p. 187). This battle is called the Tau Fakalelemoa (Battle of chasing fowls) on account of the helpless flight of the defeated, or the Tau Fakalangovaka (Battle avenging defeat) as it was held to avenge the defeat of Toafa.

In this battle Vahai employed a stratagem to enable his men to reach their enemy's territory without their hostile intent being known. He pretended that he was going on a visit with gifts to his relative Nuku, a chief of Hahake, whom he said was sick. The warriors wrapped their arms up so that they appeared to be bundles of mats and cloth. When they came to a suitable place, at Haatouli, the arms were uncovered and distributed. At Haatouli a brave resistance was made by a man who had once been a great warrior, but who was now blind. He stood at the roadside with his daughter, who, equally courageous with her father, acted as eyes for him. As the enemy approached she told him when to strike. His wrath seems especially to have been directed against Ahomee, and as that chief came up, and the daughter told him who it was, he hurled his spear, at the same time shouting a punning insult on his name, calling him Ahoafi (Aho-fire) (it is insulting to call a man's eyes fire). Another woman signalized herself on this bloody day, a daughter of Ahomee, who wrapped cloth about her body and took part with the courage of a man, and was

539 Ke ma vaeua hano mamahi.	To share his pain.
Pe 'oku mo'oni e talanoa ni	Is this rumor true
669 'Oku lau koe me'a fakafai	That says 'twas a thing brought about
'E he Sina'e mo Atele-vai,	By the Sinae and Atelevai,
Mo Nuku'alofa na'e kau ai?	And that Nukualofa shared in it?
Kae 'ikai pupunu leva hala ni	But this way is not straightway closed
Ke mou manatu, 'a Fale-fa ni,	That you may remember, O Falefa,
Koe kainga loto liaki	That folk whose faith is complete
'Oku kolo ki honau 'atamai.	Have a stronghold in their mind.
Kolo ena fa'ahi-tau ki tahi,	The stronghold of yon army is the sea,
Koe hala ia 'oe pekipaki,	The way of the *pekipaki*,
Pe ha lofa ne vakai matangi.	Or a tern that watches the wind.
Ko me'a koa ho fehu'i mai	Dost thou indeed make question
Kia siva ne ona e faiva ni,	To the experienced whose own is this skill,[13]
Ene tuli va'e melemelekaki,	Of his swift seeking the foot of the net,
'O mafuli 'o 'ikai ha e tali?	Turn it up and there is nothing to stop them?
E ngalo afe toto mai?	When shall the return from defeat be forgotten?[14]
Na'e 'a ofo 'o tatali hono api,	Astonished he awoke in his compound,
Ka ka hola e puaka inu vai,	But the pig that drinks water had fled,
'O fakamahalo mei Ha'apai	And from Haapai made his conjectures
Pe kohai e lika ange mai.	As to who would pay him regard.
'Oku 'ilo koe api si'aki.	It is known that it's a place deserted.
Tau fe'auhi 'uli'ulingaki,	Let us strive, not quitting the contest,
Tautau pe ke popo e langi,	Let us fight till the heavens have rotted,
Pe hao ki tafatafaaki-langi.	Or he has won o'er the horizon.[15]
Uisa he anga e,	Ah me, the way of it,
Uisa he anga moe kovi e,	Ah me, its way and its evil,
Kuo fai ai e manavahe.	Fear has arisen there.
Uisa he anga e,	Ah me, the way of it,
Uisa he anga moe kovi e,	Ah me, its way and its evil,
Kuo fai ai e hola vale,	There has been there a foolish flight,
'Osi na'e fai ko homou loto;	Indeed it was done to your wish;
'Alu ki Fisi ene kapa kolo,	He has gone to Fiji storming towns,
Kae tuku e eva he kau popo.	No longer he walked with a rotten weapon.[16]
Liku 'o Hihifo e,	Weather shore of Hihifo *e*
Kuo ta maheni ai mo koe,	Well do I know thee.
Kaloafu maka Teuhie,	Kaloafu and rock Teuhie *e*,
Hehea e he.	*Hehea e he.*

ULUKALALA AT FELETOA

539 634 669 [727] This short poem refers to events which occurred while Mariner was in Tonga, and of which he has furnished a somewhat detailed account (28, vol. 1, chapters V, VI, VII). The execution, or murder, by Finau (Ulukalala) of a number of chiefs who had opposed him is also related (op. cit., pp. 229-239).

539 634 669 712 The fortress of Feletoa, a few miles from Neiafu, where the steamer moors, can still be plainly traced. The roadway runs through a double line of trenches at Fatungakoa (Great foaming in death), a gateway which

was the scene of bloody conflicts. After the assassination of Tupou Niua, 539
the great chiefess Toeumu of Vavau entrenched herself at Feletoa against 634
Finau, who accepted this challenge, and attacked the fortress. Hostilities 669
were prolonged and indecisive. Successes won outside the fortress seemed 712
to bring final reduction little nearer, and at last peace was made. At a
gathering (*fono*) held at Makave, not far from Feletoa, Finau ordered 539
that 18 of the chiefs and warriors who had been active against him should 634
be seized. These he condemned to death by being taken out to sea and left 669
bound in leaky canoes. Some begged their executioners to favor them 727
with a more speedy death, and they were accordingly despatched with clubs. Six refused to ask any boon, and the original sentence was carried out on them.

The following prefatory note, which precedes the copy of the poem to which I had access, mentions two names, Naufahu and Pupunu, which are also mentioned by Mariner:

> Here's a little talk about Ulukalala in Feletoa. I think he was the tiger of his [551]
> time, for this is his characteristic, to like the name Angaaefonu (Character of the turtle).[1] And see his taste for bloodshed; the chiefs that he slew in peace, Naufisi, and Pupunu, and Naufahu, and Fulivai, and Topui, and the dear people that perished with them. They were his own relatives who were taken and bound in Lekeleka (an island in Vavau), and then Toamotu was bidden go and slay these chiefs, but they were his own [Finau's] relatives. And their bodies were bound to a boat, and rocks were put in the boat, and they were taken out to the open ocean, and sunk; and so they were lost. A man went to the island of Fuaamotu [in Vavau], and slept there. He heard the voices of the chiefs that were killed, as they prepared early in the morning to go a voyage. The man heard them get on board, and straightway Fulivai, one of the slain, raised their chant, and this is one verse of their song.

Tufutele moe vai ko Mangia,	Tufutele and the stream Mangia,[2]
Langa hoku 'ofa ki Teisina;	My yearning wells up for Teisina;[3]
Mo emau folau na'e talahia;	And our voyage that was accused;[4]
Na'e afe'i folau 'i Maninita;	The voyage turned aside in Maninita;
Alo-'i-talau, sia ko Kafoa;	Aloitalau, mound Kafoa;[5]
Langa atu 'ofa ki Feletoa,	Yearning wells forth for Feletoa,[6]
'I he tua'a 'i Fatunga-koa.	On the precincts of Fatungakoa.
Amusia pe tavake moe lofa,	Envied are the tropic bird and tern,
Na'e siu mo ake ki Malu-hola.	Who ranged for food and came ashore at Maluhola.[7]
Mo au ni, kuou mounu vaoa.	And this I, I am as a tame pigeon returned to the woods.[8]
'A Olotele moe Sina e,	Olotele and Sina *e*,[9]
Tau moe Tu'i Tonga Fefine.	Befitting the Tui Tonga Fefine.
Ko hotau fonua ka vale—	Our land in its folly—
Tui ki he lea 'ae fefine,	Trust the word of a woman,[10]
Tuanaki-auka ki Makave.	Misplaced confidence at Makave.
Koe fua'anga 'o ete fa'e.	The fruit of my mother.[11]
Mate tahi e, mate ha'i e.	Dead in the sea, dead bound.

Corresponding lines in the other version refer to the assassination rather differently, laying the emphasis on the self-sacrifice of Kepa. 539

12. I have made a slight textual alteration in this line, changing *oua* to *ona*. 669 The reference is to the departure of Finau to Haapai and Vayau after his victory of Toafa. His escape is pictured in a metaphor of fishing. In the dragnets, or fish fences formed of hanging coconut leaflets strung on a rope, a fish may make its escape by swimming down to the bottom, the foot of the net.

13. One or all of the Hihifo chiefs after the defeat of Taofa.

14. "We will fight Finau till we have defeated him or he has made his escape over the horizon."

15. The meaning of this passage is that the chief who went to Fiji storming towns had to use weapons suitable to the stern business of war, for which the baubles of dances and games were useless.

Pages 96-97. Ulukalala at Feletoa

1. This expression, still found, denotes fierceness where gentleness might have 539 been expected. The mother turtle lays her eggs above the highwater mark, and it is said that she lies in wait for the young by the water's edge and kills any of her brood 634 that she catches.

2. Tufutele and Mangia: small streams in Vavau. 669

3. Teisina: a hill in Vavau. 727

4. The translation of *talahia* as accused is made uncertainly. There is nothing to show that a special voyage is indicated. "Turning aside in Maninita," seems to express the yearning of the spirits for their native land by a trip to various points of attraction and interest. Maninita is one of the islands of Vavau. 551

5. Aloitalau and Kafoa, hills in Vavau. 103

6. Feletoa is the fortress which was the center of the fighting; Fatungakoa, the gateway of the fortress. 103 712

7. Maluhola: a headland (*matanga*) of Vavau. 103

8. "Tame pigeon" that is a decoy pigeon returned to the woods (*mouna vaoa*) has the import "one who has relapsed from his high estate," indicating here the pitiful end of one who was a chief and warrior (17 no. 594).

9. Olotele: residence of the Tui Tonga. The name seems to be Samoan, equivalent to the Tongan Kololahi, great town, or fortress. Sina is apparently a place name, 644 but instead of Sina e, might be written Sina'e, the well known branch of the Tui Tonga house, which is formed possibly of children of the female side of that house. 103 Different punctuation would take this and the following line together, and *tau* instead of being translated "fitting," might be translated "warring," thus:

Warring with the Tui Tonga Fefine,
Our land in its folly.

If this version be correct, then Toeumu, the chiefess who fortified Feletoa, was connected with the Tui Tonga, or else the Tui Tonga house was known to be favorable to her cause; perhaps this is a reference to that disposition of Finau, which Mariner mentions, to disown his obligations to the Tui Tonga.

10. This is evidently an expression for reliance on that which is capricious and uncertain. Finau had caused the men to be seized at a gathering of which peace was the ostensible motive. The following line repeats the same idea. Makave is the village at which the fatal gathering was held. (For *tuanaki-auka*, misplaced confidence, see 17 no. 552.)

11. The poet, or imaginary speaker, is connected with Finau on his mother's side.

Pages 98-100. Poem of Mumui

1. It is not implied that the noted chiefs mentioned were contemporary with each 539 other or with Tuakilaumea. Loau, for example, is by some tradition assigned to the period of the Tui Tonga Tuitatui, thirteenth century. Fotofili, if he be the Tui Haatakalaua of that name, belongs to about the middle of the seventeenth century. Probably 644 276 reference is to Fotofili who founded a chieftainship in Niua Foou six generations ago. Vaeatangitau (Vaea longing for war) may be one of two Tui Haatakalaua of that 687 name, one of whom lived about the beginning of the sixteenth century, and the other about the beginning of the eighteenth century. The meaning here is, that just as

8: Collocott & Havea M, I-5 (no date) 1922
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554. Fele a toua: *Toua* is widely scattered, that is, a multitude 539
in the *toua*. 276

The *toua* (pronounced to-wa) are those who sit where the kava is 554
prepared in a kava ceremony; they are, for the most part, people of no rank and do not drink the kava, that privilege being reserved for their superiors in the *alofi*, or chiefly circle. This expression then indicates a big crowd of people who do not count for much.

555. Fufu mo kokohu: Clapping (the hollowed hands) and dust 539
rising. 276

When there is a shortage of kava the people are constrained to use the little rootlets projecting from the thick part of the main root which in times of plenty they would throw away. To cleanse these rootlets of adhering earth they are rubbed in the hands, then held in the hollow of one hand while the other hand is beaten down on top of them, thus causing dust to arise. This expression is used in a deprecating way by a man who has only a small piece of kava to offer to his friends, and indicates that with this small piece he is completely at the end of his resources.

556. Molumalu faka-fono: Good appearances, *fono* fashion.

The *fono* is the food served with the kava. The distribution of food [264]
with kava is frequently a mere formality to comply with ceremonial requirements, and the little food given out is seldom eaten. The phrase indi- [576]
cates therefore appearances that are only appearances without any solid backing of substance.

557. Ṅofo e fononga kae eke kava: The visitors having no 539
share, but asking for kava; or perhaps more intelligibly, asking 276
for kava, but the visitors having no share in it (literally, the 574
visitors sitting, that is, just sitting quiet without part or lot in what is going on).

If guests arrive at one's house it is proper to prepare kava to greet them. This phrase indicates one who should ask for and obtain kava but then takes it off and uses it for some other purpose, neglecting the obvious duty of polite hospitality of preparing the beverage to greet his visitors.

WAR

558. Fakalali pakola: Like drum of prisoners of war, that is, 539
the peculiar beating of the drum indicating that prisoners had 727
been taken. 266

Cannibalism was only sporadic in Tonga, and never widespread. The word *pakola* is of Fijian introduction, and in Fiji indicated prisoners of war designed for the oven. Baker considers it an introduced word from Fiji, [177]
used in a low way for "Die, you wretches." In Fiji, therefore, the *pakola* [192]
drum would seem to indicate that the butcher was about to call, but such a meaning can never have been general in Tonga.

12: Vason M-3 (1797-1801) 1810
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775 vice. When we came to the Friendly-Islands, the
669 Captain and the Missionaries, having conceived a
726 high esteem for him, on account of his uniform pi-
797 ety and good conduct, consulted together, and elect-
ed him one of our number. He always resided with the brethren, whom he loved as his own soul; and so pleasant had his life been with them, that even "in death" he chose not to be "divided" from them.

The enemy proceeded, when they had murdered
[727] the Missionaries, to plunder their habitation. Many articles had been concealed and buried by them, but they searched and found all. They now returned from the pursuit, to rejoin their companions, whom they had left to keep us engaged, while they attacked Mulkaamair. We had routed this force, and pursued them along the road, till to our astonishment, we found numbers of our friends dead on the field of battle; and amongst the rest, we started back with horror to see, weltering in his blood, our beloved chief Mulkaamair, with his attendants! To behold my old and chief friend dead, was a shock that almost deprived me of strength and reason. I gave up all for lost, and was ready almost to lay myself down by his side, and die with him. I cannot describe my sensations at that time: I was all wildness and confusion.

I recollect, however, that looking about in the agony of despair, I saw a young woman with her thigh broken, and leaning her wounded head on a

12: Vason M-3 (1797-1801) 1810
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in three divisions from three different points. The 175
battle was obstinate and bloody—at length they 669
fled; leaving behind them several old chiefs who 726
fell a sacrifice to our rage.

In the field of battle, was a large Fiatooka. In 727
this, numbers had taken refuge, supposing that, as [728]
it was the burying-place of Dugonagaboola, the sanctity of the place would secure them from violence. Our party however made an attack upon the place, and attempted to pull up the fence. But as the enemy within could not be seen, yet could see us, when any one attempted to pull off the reeds, they pierced him with their spears. They judged it best, therefore, to set fire to it: but the sanctity of the place deterred them. They applied to me: I threw a firebrand upon the thatch; it did not light for some time: at length it was all in a blaze. Many of them fled out, but they found no quarter: the rest therefore stood upon their defence, and fought desperately till they were all killed. A few young women amongst them came out, and begged
hard for their lives. They made these "boboolers," [727]
prisoners, and they became the property of those who first took them.

After the victory, I made inquiries respecting my countrymen; and with heart-rending grief, learned the melancholy slaughter of those at Ardeo. I was informed also that the rest, who lived with other

12: Vason M-3 (1797-1801) 1810
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175 chiefs, had escaped to the sea-shore; where, it was
669 supposed, they had concealed themselves among
726 the rocks.

797 After the engagement, our victorious troops
took the bodies of their slain enemies, dragged them
[727] to the sea-shore, and after inflicting every brutal
[266] insult of savage cruelty, roasted and ate them:
thinking it a just revenge on their enemies to devour them. In the midst of their savage repast, they were surprised by the appearance of the enemy; but they were so voraciously hungry, that their own safety did not avail to make them stand on their defence in time to resist them. The enemy therefore threw us into confusion. We fled to the canoes with precipitation; some of which were nearly sunk by numbers. Many did not reach them ere they had put off from shore, and fell a sacrifice to the foe. One canoe filled with men and women was stranded. The chief of it determined to defend it to the last; and menaced, and defied the enemy. But one of them stole behind the canoe, and with his boggebogge knocked him down like a bullock; and taking possession of the canoe, all that were in it were massacred.

We made all the sail we could to Attatai. The wind blew against us, but, by midnight, we succeeded in reaching it, after much difficulty. The confusion and slaughter that took place at our embarking, had much reduced our party. The next

175 At length the enemy gave way, and fled beyond
669 Aheefo; where some retired to secret places, and
726 others to Mafanga for refuge. This was a solemn
797 spectacle to me. The thought that had I been on
[727] shore, I might have sunk into eternity in a moment, with all my unpardoned guilt upon my head, excited some concern, and awakened a few transient sensations of gratitude to Heaven.

175 Having gained a complete victory, Loogolala gave
669 orders to sail for Mafanga, and to take the refugees,
[727] but to do them no injury. Eight or nine of the chiefs, whom he took prisoners, he put into a canoe and ordered them to be taken, with a small supply of provisions, to a small distant island, at Arbai, where they had no means of escape. The lower orders were disarmed, and sent to their respective districts,
[728] to await the order of Loogolala. The whole island now submitted to him, and he appointed many of his friends governours of the different districts. He then made a descent upon the Arbai islands, which surrendered to him, and received his chiefs for their governours. From thence he proceeded to another group of islands, named Vavou, and sometimes called by the natives Afoolouou. They made no resistance, but readily yielded to his power. The principal island on which he landed, was almost covered with hogs. Loogolala had "tabooed," that is, laid an embargo upon them at this island, at the commencement of the campaign, intending, if victori-

[This page retyped by HRAF.]

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175 ous to return hither, to celebrate his success in a
669 plenteous and lengthened festival. Provisions therefore
were plentifully accumulated, by the time he
727 arrived. Four hundred baked hogs were brought
to the spot, and round a stake driven into the ground
were piled ten or twelve fat hogs of the weight of
eighteen or twenty stone. The banquet was prepared
and conducted with much form and ceremony.

Loogolala and his chiefs sat in all the dignity of savage pride, giving out their domineering commands, and drove the natives about like so many dogs. Here they stayed for a month or six weeks, eating and drinking, feasting and dancing, and making excursions of pleasure to the surrounding islands, where they were entertained in the same manner. After exhausting the provisions of these islands, they returned to the Arbai isles, where they continued some time, that Tongataboo might recruit its
losses and accumulate provisions against their return.
175 Whilst going from place to place, on these triumphant
799 excursions of pleasure, I was frequently exposed
304 to the reflections and sarcasms of the young people,
[515] especially in the hour of bathing, which generally
recurred three times every day, for being destitute of that cuticle vesture, which modesty has taught the South-Sea islanders to throw around them as an excellent imitation and substitute for garments; I mean the Tatoo. On these occasions, they would raise a shout of merriment and call me by opprobri-

175 to obtain provisions. Here we were grieved to ob-
797 serve the ravages which the enemy had made.
669 Spectacles too shocking for humanity to contem-
plate, soon sickened my sight, and sunk my spirits.
175 I beheld, with shaking horror, large stacks of hu-
797 man bodies, piled up, by being laid transversely
669 upon each other, as a monumental trophy of the
victory.

727 Proceeding a little farther, a horrid spectacle al-
most froze my blood. It was a woman in a sitting
posture, with folded arms holding a child to her
breast as in the act of suckling it. Upon approach-
ing them, I found both the mother and child cold
and stiff with death. The enemy had killed them
while in this posture, and indulged their savage re-
venge in amusing themselves with placing the dead
175 bodies in this affecting attitude. Having obtained
797 provisions, we sailed for Aheefo, and leaving our
669 canoes in the care of a few, we disembarked, and
726 were joined on shore by the district of Mafanga. I
followed them at a little distance, but near enough to
observe them, as they marched against the enemy
who had fled to Aheefo, where they found them
[712] prepared to receive them. They had enclosed
themselves with a fence formed of reeds and stakes,
from which there were only two outlets.

Loogolala could not attack the fence, because of
of men stationed behind it, on the watch, who the
instant an assault was made, would have speared the
assailants through the enclosure: he made there-

175 enemy, making a sudden rush, surrounded the twenty
669 people who formed his guard and overturned the litter.
They gave no quarter to his companions, three of whom
were women; and while they hesitated to slay so great a
chief, a man ran up crying, "Kill him!" and upon the
175 sudden impulse he was clubbed where he lay. After the
669 death of their leader the rebels made no further stand,
797 and the Royalists pursued until they reached Haateiho,
609 where three of the missionaries, who had declined to accompany
either army, were still living. They had been
warned by the fleeing rebels to come with them, but,
trusting in their known neutrality, they preferred to
remain to protect their houses. Among the Royalists
was a man to whom they had refused an axe which
he coveted. Calling to his companions, this man set
upon them, clubbed them, and looted their house.

175 Tired of pursuit, the Royalists returned and found that
669 the rebel outpost had succeeded in driving off the few
men who had been left to keep them in check, and were
trying to succour their wounded. They now set off in full
flight for the coast, pursued by the victors. On their way
they met Finau's contingent, who had just disembarked.
175 By their direction they continued their flight, drawing the
669 enemy across the beach towards the canoes. Suddenly
565 they turned and fell upon their pursuers, who, taken by
727 surprise, dropped Ata's litter and took to flight. There
was now a debate as to what should be done with their
prisoner, who was related to one of the chiefs who had
captured him. This chief, unwilling to seem partial to
an enemy, wished them to kill him, but his attendants
insisted that, out of respect for himself, the prisoner's life

should be spared. They therefore retired and called to 175
his sons, who came forward and bore him off in his 669
litter. 565 727

The three surviving missionaries, who had accompanied 175
the victorious army, had left it very early in the day, 669
disgusted with the acts of ferocity they had seen. In 797
one place they had come upon an old man in the act of 266
cooking part of the body of an enemy, intending apparently to eat it; in another a man was celebrating his triumph over a fallen chief by cutting up his body,—and even some of the women dipped their hands in his blood and licked them. On their return to their house in Hihifo, they found that it had been looted by their own party and destroyed. In despair they took refuge among the caves on the deserted Liku.

The rebel army passed the night in their canoes. At 175
daybreak they saw that the enemy was preparing to 669
attack them in force as soon as they landed, hoping to 725
take them by surprise at the sacred enclosure of Pangai, the burying-place of the Tui Kanokubolu; but Finau, warned of their intention, landed his men and attacked them simultaneously from three points. After an obstinate resistance they fled to the enclosure within which stands the king's tomb, hoping that the sanctity of the place would protect them. The rebels, not daring themselves to desecrate the place, applied to Vason, who set it
on fire. No quarter was given, and the refugees, driven 175
out by the fire, were all slain, except a few women who 669
preferred slavery to death. These became the property of 727
their captors. The victors now dragged the dead bodies to [266]
the shore, exhausting their ingenuity in insulting them,

175 and there had roasted, and begun to eat them, when the
669 enemy returned to the attack. There was a rush for the
[727] canoes. Overloaded and nearly sinking, they put off
[266] from the shore before the fugitives could all embark.
One canoe laden with men and women was aground, and its occupants, together with those left behind, were all massacred. The remnant of the rebel army succeeded in reaching the island of Atatá, where they were confined for three days by a severe gale: they spent the time in murdering the defenceless inhabitants, who were supposed to have Royalist sympathies. From Atatá they sailed to Mua to take counsel for a renewal of the attack.

The missionaries, who had taken refuge on the Liku,
[797] now ventured to come out of their hiding-place and
accompany a number of the Royalists to Maofanga. This is a sacred spot, situated a mile to the eastward of Nukualofa, which, from the rigid *tabu* that attached to it, had become a place of refuge never violated by war. In a few days Finau's army made another descent upon Hihifo by sea, and on May the 29th, after an obstinate
175 engagement, they utterly routed the enemy. On the 3d
669 of June he summoned the refugees before him at Maofanga,
727 and allowed all except ten of the leaders to go free.
Mafi, the bravest and most influential of the Royalist warriors, and nine others were sentenced to various punishments. Some, bound hand and foot, were taken out to sea and put adrift in leaky old canoes, while Mafi and the others were led to the canoes amid the loud lamentations of their wives and children, and landed at Lofanga, a small island of the Haapai group, where they were bound naked to cocoa-nut-trees and left to starve to

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
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death. There, exposed to the heat of the sun, to raging 175
thirst and hunger, they were tortured by the boys of the 669
place, who amused themselves by sticking spears into 727
their flesh, or by showing them food to tantalise them;
yet some of them lingered till the eighth day, and all
bore their sufferings without complaint. The people of [775]
Lofanga still say that at night they hear the groans of
the spirits that haunt the spot.

Having settled the affairs of Tongatabu, Finau Uluka- 175
lala returned to Haapai. He found a body of Royalists 669
drawn up to meet him at Haano, who after a sharp
conflict surrendered to him. He disarmed the lower [727]
orders, and punished the chiefs with the same barbarity
he had practised on the chiefs of Hihifo. From Haapai
he sailed with Tubou Niua to Vavau, which submitted to
him after a desultory warfare lasting for several weeks.

For nine months there was peace. The Hihifans had
not in truth accepted the new order, but they had not
recovered sufficient strength to resist. On the 24th of [797]
January 1800 the privateer Betsy, with a Spanish prize in tow, took away all the survivors of the ill-fated mission except the apostate Vason. A few days later, while a party of Finau's men were at Hihifo collecting provisions to relieve the scarcity at Haapai, the rebellion against Finau broke out. A party of Hihifans ravaged the central district, burning and laying waste, and at last hemmed in the Haapai men at the narrow promontory of Hihifo. Here they took an ample revenge for the wrongs they had suffered. When the slaughter was ended they made stacks of the bodies, laying them transversely one upon another.

nibalism for the support of life, and the warfare between 175
the different fortresses degenerated into mere head-hunt- 669
ing expeditions. 266

Tukuaho had been nominally succeeded by Maafuli- 175
muloa, and upon his death, a few months later, Tukuaho's 669
eldest surviving son, Tubou-malohi, was proclaimed Tui 643
Kanokubolu, albeit a king without subjects. Safe within their fortresses the petty chiefs acknowledged no superior; and Tubou-malohi was so harassed by Takai, the one-eyed chief of Bea, that he became in reality a fugitive from his own subjects. Misfortunes attended all his enterprises. Having failed to avenge his father's death upon Finau and
Tubou Niua, he set sail for Fiji. There he remained in [167]
voluntary exile for nearly five years; but in 1805, hearing [712]
that Finau's descents upon Tonga had become mere annual predatory expeditions, he returned and built a large fortress on the hill at Nukualofa.

In 1806 an event occurred that vastly strengthened 175
Finau's position. An English privateer, the Port-au- 609
Prince, put into Haapai for repairs, having on board Mr 669
Mariner, the son of one of the owners. The crew were mutinous, and insisted on going ashore, and the temptation was too great for Finau. They were massacred, and the
ship was then surprised and captured by the natives. Mr [727]
Mariner became a great favourite with Finau, with whom he spent four years, and to his captivity we are indebted for a most charming book of travel.^A

With the carronades of the captured ship, manned by 175
English sailors, Finau made an attack upon Tubou-malohi's 669
fortress and destroyed it with great slaughter. But instead 725
of pursuing his victory he withdrew, and had the mortifi- [713]

A /See 2 and 3: Mariner, this file, for this account -- Analyst/

175 but they would only consent to listen to him on the
669 condition that he would cut off all communication with
634 Haapai. He therefore returned to Haapai and embarked
[787] his forces, about 5000 men and 1000 women, in fifty war-
[701] canoes, with four carronades and ammunition. The siege
[501] lasted many months, and the garrison only submitted in
[713] obedience to the gods, and after imposing conditions upon
[725]
[787] their assailants to take no revenge upon any of them.
175 These conditions were not observed. Finau heard, or pretended
669
634 that he had heard, of a plot upon his life. Several
727 of the leading chiefs were seized at his kava-party, bound,
and summarily despatched; but eighteen were reserved for
the more signal punishment of being turned adrift in leaky
canoes. On their way to the open sea they implored their
executioners to knock out their brains instead of consigning
them to the slow and ignominious death of drowning, and
the request was granted in twelve cases. The other six,
all chiefs of high rank, were turned adrift, and died regretting
their foolishness in trusting to the honour of Finau.

In Finau's mind there was a growing scepticism regarding
175
634 the religion of his ancestors. He was now in the
771 zenith of his prosperity, and he had never deserved well
776 of the gods by submission to their will, or by regularity
[643] in his offerings. To him the institution of a Tui Tonga
seemed a useless tax upon the people—a worn-out cult, a
[782] mere survival of the superstition of a darker age. He
[643] was proposing seriously to abolish the *inaji*, the great
annual presentation of food to the Tui Tonga, which, in the
famine that had succeeded the war, was very difficult to
175 provide, when a great misfortune fell upon him. His
634 daughter, after a long illness, died. While there was
776
793

[1852]

might probably have taken the place by assault, but for 175 some reason he hesitated from day to day in the hope that 643 669 the enemy would themselves sue for peace.

Houma meanwhile had resisted all Ata's efforts to carry it by storm, and the king's troops were driven to try the expedient of starving the garrison into submission. Early in July the Houma people sued for peace, and received the king's pardon, sitting before him with *iri*-leaves, emblematic of submission, hanging from their necks. Five weeks later a large ship was reported off the anchorage, and the king, supposing it to be the help promised to the enemy from Tahiti, prepared to assault Bea before the French should have time to interfere. But she proved [177] to be H.M.S. Calliope, commanded by Sir Everard Home, who offered his services to the king as mediator with his enemies. Terms were again sent to the enemy by [728] four chiefs of high rank,—that the lives of the entire garrison should be spared, on the condition that the fort should be given over to pillage and destruction. But the enemy distrusted the faith of the king's troops, and asked for one of the missionaries and the king's son as hostages for their safety. To this the king would not consent, and 175 the negotiations threatened to break down when news 643 669 reached Nukualofa that the principal chiefs had left the 727 fortress, and that the royal forces were sacking the place. The king, accompanied by Sir Everard Home, set off for Bea in hot haste, and traversed the four intervening miles almost at a run. They arrived just in time to prevent the victors, drunken with the excitement of rapine, from proceeding to outrage. The town was in flames, and the priests were threatened with rough treatment. By the

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
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[1852]

175 king's efforts they were removed to a place of safety, and
643 their property was dragged out of their burning houses.
669 Lavaka, Maafu, and Tubouleva were pardoned, and they
[727] forthwith renounced both heathenism and the Christianity
[797] of the Roman Church, which the Protestant chronicler
[798] naïvely classes together. Thus ended the second Wesleyan
[797] crusade, and Protestantism, sustained by the musket
and the club, was again triumphant.

175 In the following November the long-expected help from
177 Tahiti arrived in the person of Captain Belland of the
643 Imperial frigate Moselle. A formal inquiry was held to
investigate the charges brought by the priests and the captain of a French whaler; and the French commander, while acquitting the king of responsibility for any injury sustained by the priests, warned him against allowing his zeal to blind him to the right of his subjects to entire freedom of conscience. In closing the inquiry he said to the interpreter, "Tell him that I have known many chiefs in the South Seas, but I have never met his equal."

175 Relieved of his anxieties at home, King George had
643 now the leisure to consider his long-cherished scheme of
travelling abroad. More than once in his youth he had almost yielded to a temptation to ship before the mast in one of the passing whalers that made Tonga their annual port of call. Had he done so, the history of his country would have been different, but he was reserved for higher
175 things. His mind naturally turned to Fiji, where a new
643 kingdom had been unexpectedly won for him. The num-
648 ber of Tongans settled in Fiji had grown into a standing
669 menace to the peace of Tonga. Any disaffected chief
167 might recruit an army of free-lances there, well trained in

large cave full of water of unknown depth. It 312
was this discovery that led to the choice of [712]
Feletoa as the site for the fortress that was to contain the entire population of the island. We explored the cave, and found that the water was clear, but slightly brackish. Probably it rises and falls with the tide, and the whole island, like Niué, contains similar reservoirs of
fresh water beneath its crust. Mariner says that 712
Finau had the ramparts levelled with the ground, [727]
but, to judge by the works still remaining, his commands must have been but grudgingly obeyed, for it would not take much to put the place into a state of defence again.

Surveying the fort, even in its dismantled and overgrown condition, we could well believe that
it had a most imposing appearance. The land- [133]
locked inlet, with its vista of hazy islands to seaward and its brilliant reflections, broken here and there by light puffs of wind, must have been a fit setting for the lofty triple rampart alive
with warriors in their war-harness. Of their [114]
Homeric deeds in the great siege you may read in the pages of Dr. Martin, who, if he wrote no epic, contrived at least to lose nothing of the romance in William Mariner's story.

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This was not the only god to whom offerings were made to ensure 776
immunity from hurricane, but he seems to have had some especially
close connection with the winds, as it is said that he has on occasion 821
brought the people to cannibalism with his destructive hurricanes. A [266]
story is told of the heroic chief Takai, who was a match for his gusty
majesty. Takai challenged Bulotu Katoa to a trial of strength, 773
defying him to destroy a house which he should build. So the house
was built strong and taut and the god invited to do his worst.
Bulotu Katoa blew with all his might from the north. The house
stood. The god veered round to the south. This was too much for
Takai's workmanship, and the structure was demolished. Nothing
daunted, Takai collected from all parts of the country beams of the
hard wood called *ngeji*, and tried again. The god was invited to try
his strength on this second building, but though he employed his
greatest hurricanes it was in vain, for Takai's house withstood his
every attempt.

It was to Bulotu Katoa that the man strangled under the piece of 776
native cloth mentioned above was offered. This god is also brought [782]
into interesting connection with the murder of Tubou Niua by Tubou
Toa, of which an eye-witness' account is preserved by Mariner. The [661]
two sons of Tubou Niua, Lasiki and Tubou Toutai, fled to Lakepa.
In course of time Taufaahau (afterwards King George Tubou I.), the [727]
son of Tubou Toa, paid a friendly visit to the sons of the man whom 776
his father had slain. Lasiki and Tubou Toutai besought Bulotu
Katoa to slay Taufaahau, but the god replied that he was unable to [627]
do so, as the white man's God, whom Taufaahau then worshipped,
was too mighty for him. On this confession of impotence Lasiki and [797]
Tubou Toutai slew the priest of Bulotu Katoa, and became Christians.

(To be continued.)

[pp. 164-226 not processed]

from whence their fighting excursions were made. 712
In besieging such places, they well understood the 725
method of approaching by trenches, and rifle-pits,
defended by earthworks and strong stockades.
They were also well versed in the science of 723
strategy, and knew no mercy to the vanquished 727
who fell into their hands. The contending parties 726
seldom met in a general engagement. The strife
was usually a series of skirmishes. Those taken in 727
war, whose lives were spared, became the *bobulas*,
or slaves, of the conquerors; and these were often
treated with the most refined and horrible cruelty,
at the caprice of their proprietor.

In times of peace, the men were fully occupied 462
in the various pursuits of agriculture, fishing,
sinnet-plaiting, canoe and house building, and,
above all, in voyaging. The women devoted them- [287]
selves to the unceasing manufacture of the *fetaaki*,
or white beaten bark, of which the native cloth
was made, and to the completion of the process
in those *kokaagas*, or united gatherings of the
female sex, where the cloth was fashioned into
one immense piece, and then printed in brown and
black colours, according to the fancy of the maker.
The women did no field or house drudgery in the
Friendly Islands. They never even cooked the [252]
victuals of the family, that being always the duty
of the men. In addition to the manufacture of
gatu, or native cloth, their chief work was to
bring water from the wells; make all the sleeping
and wearing mats for both sexes; also baskets and
bags for various purposes, and any other little
nick-nacks for household use. Feasts, dances, 517
games, wrestling matches, and canoe races, filled
up much of the time of the people. Some of these

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798 had not been accomplished. After giving all the
669 information I could to my brethren, Adams and
[728] Amos, I rode home twelve miles to Hihifo.

[643] Sabbath, June 20th.—I preached this morning
[726] at Hihifo, and in the afternoon I went to preach
at Nukunuku, accompanied, as usual, by a bodyguard
of armed men. The Missionaries, throughout
this war, have felt it to be their duty to visit
regularly the few fortified towns, as well as the
stockades and camps thrown up around Bea, for
preaching and other spiritual purposes; but the
king will not allow us to run the risk of travelling
about alone. He has therefore ordered a guard of
armed men always to go with us on such occasions.
After preaching at Nukunuku, I mounted my
horse, and, surrounded by my attendants, started
for Hihifo. We had not gone more than half a
797 mile when we were alarmed by the sound of a
798 volley of musketry at no great distance behind us.
669 Our first impression was that some one of our
726 number had fallen behind, and had been fired upon
by a concealed foe; but finding this was not the
case, we began cautiously to retrace our steps.
Another volley, and then the native shouts of triumph
were heard, which convinced us that it was
a friendly, and not a heathen, band. Hurrying
forward, we met them in front of the entrance to
(727) Nukunuku, on their way to the presence of the
chief, one of the band carrying in triumph a human
arm dangling on the point of a spear. These men
had been on patrol duty, and having fallen upon a
small party of heathens, a skirmish had ensued, in
which they had killed one man. They were now
returning to Nukunuku with the bloody evidence
of what had been done. Alas! that the Lord's

798 the men to be detained within his own camp during
669 the night, where they received the most hospitable
728 entertainment. But what formed the crowning
glory of the day was the fact that, when the hour for evening devotions arrived, these pardoned rebels felt themselves constrained, by a strong sense of the truth and excellency of religion, to unite with their friends in bowing the knee in prayer before the great Jehovah.

798 On the following day, Vaea and Fohe returned
669 to Houma, with a proclamation of free pardon for
all the inhabitants, and a promise that none of
727 their property should be destroyed or injured. At
728 the same time, the town was to be held by a party
of the king's men, until his further pleasure should be declared, as to the destruction, or otherwise, of its fortifications.

On the following Sunday, I visited the fort,
797 arrangements having been made for holding a
religious service, at which Vaea and Fohe wished to be present. Before commencing the service, the people had arranged for a grand fusillade in honour of the peace, and in testimony of their joy at abandoning heathenism. Volley after volley
[202] rent the air, for a considerable time; but, at a
given signal, the firing ceased, and the drum, in
[534] the absence of a bell, having been beaten for public worship, I preached to a very large congregation of half-enlightened heathens. At this single service above one hundred persons formally renounced idolatry; and, from that day, regular Christian means of grace were established in Houma.

798 Meanwhile, the Bea fortress was besieged more
669 closely than ever. Had not its inmates been still
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798 to the French priests from the English commander,
669 stating his knowledge of the fact that, should this
728 offer of peace fail, the fortress would be stormed by
the Tonguese, and would most assuredly be taken.
In these circumstances, he offered them an asylum
on board his ship. This offer the priests declined,
signifying at the same time their willingness to abide
the result. The fears, however, of the rebel chiefs
were now considerably aroused; and their eyes
were also opened to see, to some extent, the folly
of trusting to French intervention. They accordingly
determined to surrender at discretion. Maafu
and Lavaka, the two leading chiefs, then came from
Bea to meet the king, and to arrange the mode of
submission. They intended to return immediately
when the business was completed; but the king
desired them to remain in his camp for the night,
as a precaution against any treachery.

On the following morning, Sir Everard Home,
798 Mr. Adams, and myself, visited Bea. When about
669 halfway to the king's encampment, we met messengers
727 posting down to Nukualofa, with the news
797 that Bea was then being sacked. Upon hearing
this, we rode forward with all speed, fearing lest
the Christian party might be hurried into excesses,
over which we should have to mourn. We resolved
at all hazards to do our best to prevent bloodshed.
Within half an hour after the king's army had
taken possession of Bea, we entered it, and immediately
[643] sought for the king. We found him busy
repressing the excitement of his men, and engaged
in placing a guard for the protection of the property
and houses of the French priests. There was
great commotion, and already the town was set on
798 fire in several localities. It appeared that early in
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the morning, the Vavauans had observed one of 798
the gates of the fort almost unguarded, upon which 669
they immediately advanced with their entire force. 727
Gaining an easy access, they called out to the few 726
Beans, who seemed disposed to dispute their progress, not to fire, and all would be well. No shots, therefore, were exchanged. The heathen, in fact, were thoroughly surprised and panic-stricken. The Vavauans then raised the shout of victory, which being heard by all the rest of the king's warriors outside, a general rush was made on the place from all points, even before the real cause of
the movement was ascertained. The king himself 798
was at breakfast when intelligence was brought that 669
the Vavau people were masters of the fort. No 727
lives were lost on either side in the rush that took 643
place; but an immediate sacking and destruction of houses began, which was only quelled by the immense personal exertions and authority of the king. We also did our utmost, along with Sir Everard Home, in aiding his majesty to restrain the passions of the conquerors. Mr. Adams and myself assisted in saving the effects of the French priests from the destructive advance of the fire, which had already destroyed many houses, and was rapidly approaching their large chapel and personal residence. Happily these were preserved almost without injury, through the indefatigable exertions of the king and a number of his own men. Before the day closed, all danger as to the perpetration of any atrocities upon the vanquished was over; and we felt that, after the noble display of Christian forbearance shown by the king, and by the whole Christian army under his command, we might return to Nukualofa, to sleep in peace.

797 We praised God for what the Gospel had done, in the
798 restraint of evil passions, which formerly, on such
669 an occasion, would have rioted in deeds of violence
727 and blood.

On the following day, a speech was made by the
798 king, in which he ordered the demolition of the
669 fortifications of Bea, as the only punishment to be
727 inflicted upon the vanquished, and as a pledge that
war should no more desolate the land, if he could prevent it. All were commanded to return to their various homes as speedily as possible, and to resume the ordinary pursuits of peaceful times.

Thus closed, without further bloodshed, a struggle that had been begun with the design of overturning civil authority and order in the Friendly Islands; but which, under the over-ruling providence of God, was destined to prove a death-blow to heathenism. The wisdom and clemency of the
[643] king, both during the war and at its happy conclusion, won for him the respect and love of even his bitterest foes. Bright days of peace and prosperity once more dawned upon Tongatabu. The wild passions that had been aroused in the heat of conflict speedily subsided. Deserted villages were filled again with the hum of busy life. The quiet pursuits of home life and industry were resumed; and a new and promising start was made by the Tonguese in national progress, such as they had never made before. The idols were now utterly
[797] abolished. Not one heathen temple remained; and, not many months after the war terminated, the entire population of the Friendly Islands acknowledged and worshipped the "one living and true God, and Jesus Christ whom He hath sent."

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794 It could not be expected that five months of

64: Urbanowicz E-4,5 (1970,1971) 1976 OU9 Tonga OU9

> 276 574 644 [651] Ceremony) from the whole of the [Island] Group. . . . After the *Kava* Ceremony came the presentation of food. This was Tubouto'a's mark of homage and allegiance to the Sovereign, and is a relic of the old custom of the "Inasi" (presentation of the first fruits of the land to the Tu'i Toga) (Anonymous 1938:43-44).

276 574 644 643 An excellent description of the installation of the individual who was to become known as King George Tupou I is provided by John Thomas and points out the "seal of approval" in the ceremony of drinking *kava*:

> The ceremony of appointing to [the] office [of *Tu'i Kanokupolu*] took place at a cava-meeting. The cava has been considered sacred; and ALMOST EVERYTHING TO BE SETTLED IN THESE ISLANDS IS DONE AT A CAVA MEETING, at which great order is observed [STRESS added] (Thomas 1845:156).

554 565 In aboriginal Tongan society (and early contacted Tongan society prior to the celebrated Tongan Constitution of 1875) consensus and flexibility were key concepts in the relationship between the ruler and the ruled (Urbanowicz 1973:114-115). An individual who wanted to be a chief of a particular group of people had to have not only the consent of the people but also of the [643] fellow chiefs. Even the *Tu'i Tonga*, one of the leading titled individuals in Tongan society, could not be appointed to his position without the support and consent of the *Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua* or (later) the *Tu'i Kanokupolu.* If a particular chief did not have the support of other chiefs, he could lose his title and position in Tongan society.

558 727 565 In 1840, some battles took place on Tongatapu which resulted in two chiefs having their titles removed. The *Tu'i Kanokupolu* Jiosaia Tupou and King George Tupou met and Thomas recorded the event:

> After this [meeting] the two Kings met with their chiefs and did depose Ata and another chief [called by the title] Vahi (the latter has been the cause of the wars) and appointed a new Ata and Vahai in their place (Thomas *Journal*: February 14, 1830).

The former *Ata* had land on Tongatapu Island and this was also removed from him and transferred to the new *Ata* (Rabone *Journal*: February 28, [276] [574] 1840). Although there is no extant evidence which specifically mentions the *kava* ceremony which accompanied this particular "title removal" it undoubtedly took place. The following account makes this clear concerning 558 778 another individual who lost his title at another point in time because of his Wesleyan beliefs:

> 276 574 This morning about 1 o'clock we were aroused from a sleep by a messenger from Beka where the [Wesleyan] Chapel was opened last week, who came to say that a persecuting party had arrived there, and they supposed it was to dispose of [the titled individual known as] Tuivakano for having embraced Christianity, and drove the Christian party from their homes. Messengers have been going to Beka, and

68: Cummins H-4 (no date) 1977 OU9 Tonga OU9

WHEN the Wesleyan missionaries arrived in Tonga in the 1820s the country 669
was experiencing a period of political instability, a continuation, in fact, of
the civil strife that began in 1797. Within months of Thomas's arrival two 797
of the highest ranking chiefs—Tāufa'āhau and Laufilitonga—became embroiled [643]
in a struggle in Ha'apai which threatened the peace of the whole
group.[9] Confronted with 'wars and rumours of wars', the missionaries felt it
a duty to teach the new way—a way of love, mercy and peace. They saw the
Tongans as a warlike people, revelling in war, enjoying fighting as a pastime.[10]
But as the Christian teaching began to take root they frequently 797
noted in their reports to their superiors in London that one of the most
obvious fruits of the gospel was that the Tongans no longer cherished war.
Visitors commented on the change. Ransome, log keeper of the whaler
Elizabeth, observed that the people

> appear to have been much benefitted by the exertions of their . . . missionary Mr. Thomas—at one time they were a very warlike treacherous set, but now their manners are much altered . . . many of them brought their muskets to exchange for calico, that they may appear decently in church.[11]

When a new chapel was opened in Ha'apai in the 30s, the missionary present
at the festivities wrote enthusiastically that the king and people desired 'to
learn war no more'. As proof of this change of heart Charles Tucker told [411]
how the king had given a number of clubs and spears from which the [346]
communion rail for the new chapel had been fashioned.[12] Other new chapels
were decorated with former weapons of war, and David Cargill pointed out [782]
that 'walking sticks made from these weapons are very common'.[13]

Two outbreaks of hostilities early in the mission's history, one in 1831 [481]
and the other in 1833, were settled without loss of blood, and the missionaries 797
were quick to point out that the new Christian attitude which was
responsible for the bloodlessness of the fighting stood in marked contrast to 669
the brutality of the former era. Describing the events which followed the
destruction of the rebel fort in Vava'u in 1831, Turner noted: 797

> The captive party were expecting to share the same fate [as the ill-fated 669
> fortress], and Finau seemed wishful to make an example of the ring leaders 727
> but King Geo. had begun to feel some little of the principles of Christianity

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[9] John Thomas, Journal, 25 Aug. 1826, 26-27 Oct. 1826, WMMS (ANL, mf M159). [113]

[10] James Watkin, draft of article for *Methodist Magazine*, 30 Sept. 1833, Sydney, Mitchell Library (hereinafter ML), James Watkin Papers, A1540. Peter Turner, Journal, 25 June 1833, ML, B301. [113]

[11] H. Ransome, Log Book of the Whaling Ship *Elizabeth*, 26 Feb. 1832, 28 Mar. 1832, MLA1481. [113]

[12] Tucker to Secretaries of the WMMS, 17 Sept. 1835. *Papers Relative to Wesleyan Missions*, LXXV (1838). [113]

[13] David Cargill, Journal, 2 Oct. 1834, ML, A1817. [113]

797 who loves its enemies–he therefore would not hear of any being put to death.[14]

669 A similar act of clemency was shown after the fall of the rebel stronghold
727 at 'Uiha in 1833, when the resident missionary noted with pride: 'The
business of reducing the people who have so long opposed, has been accomplished without loss of life. For which I am thankful.'[15] Thomas, in writing to the Committee about the changed state of affairs in Tonga, used a military image, pointing out that '*now* they are soldiers in the army of Jesus'.[16]

797 Undoubtedly Christian teaching played a significant role in introducing
577 and inculcating the new attitudes and standards of behaviour. In the
mission's extensive school system, which catered for adults as well as children,
872 there was a frequent emphasis upon the importance of living in friendship
and fellowship. 'Fellowship is a good thing' *Ko e Motua Lea* taught in two
797 of its five lessons; hatred was a bad thing when directed towards other people,
577 but men should hate lies and evil speaking.. In this early book the Devil
872 was the only enemy.[17] Other books taught love and forgiveness as part of the
779 Christian ethic.[18] *Koe Tohi Ako* (The School Book), which contained the
Lord's Prayer with its teaching on forgiveness, taught that a loving good natured attitude should be adopted 'to all people'.[19] The Catechism (*Fehui moe Tala*) approached this area by asking a question about man's responsibility to his fellows, to which the answer was given: 'Righteousness is to obey my parents, and be respectful to my relatives . . . do good, love and be forgiving to all people'.[20]

Biblical stories which illustrated the forgiving and loving virtues of Christianity were provided in Book 5, which contained the parables of the Good Samaritan, the Prodigal Son, and the Elder Brother.[21] These parables stressed the responsibility of Christians to show love, concern and forgiveness towards those who had wronged them. Book 10, a translation of the *Wesleyan Rules of Society*, urged members of society to avoid fighting, quarrelling and brawling, exhorting them instead to seek to do good to all men, especially those in need of any kind.[22] Above all else there was the constant theme of God's love for all men, made known to the world through

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[14] Peter Turner, Journal, 21 Aug. 1831, ML, B301.

[15] James Watkin, Journal, 26 Mar. 1833, ML, A834.

[16] Thomas to Secretaries, 17 Dec. 1831, WMMS Inward Correspondence (ANL, mf M143).

[17] *Ko e Motua Lea* (Nuku'alofa 1831), p 3, lessons 1, 2 and 5.

[18] See e.g. *Ko e Fehui mo e Tala Mei he Uluaki Folofola a e Otua* (Tongataboo Feb. 1834); *Ko e Gaahi Lesoni mei he Tohi Tabu* (Tongataboo June 1832).

[19] *Ko e Tohi Ako* (Tongataboo, second ed. 1835), p 4, lesson ix.

[20] *Ko e Fehui mo e Tala* (Tongataboo 1831), Section 5, Question 45.

[21] *Ko e Gaahi lesoni eni mei he Tohi Tabu* (Tongataboo 1832), pp 3-4, 5-9.

[22] *Ko e Akonaki ki he kakai Lotu Fehui* (Tongataboo 1834), p 2-3.

68: Cummins H-4 (no date) 1977 OU9 Tonga OU9

669 tian stronghold of Nuku'alofa, were preparing to do battle. On Sunday 8
January while the Christians were at worship, the heathens attacked.[56]
669 Token resistance was shown by the Christians on the sabbath, but this was
726 followed up on the Monday by full scale retaliation. Ngele'ia was stormed.
Its fortifications were razed, its buildings burned to the ground, 20 of its
inhabitants killed and the remainder taken prisoner.[57]

A week later at the village of Hule the heathen party again attacked the
Christians while they were at worship. The skirmishes on the sabbath were
[727] followed a few days later by massive retaliation. King George and his
warriors stormed the fortress annihilating its population of 300 men, women
and children, and reducing the village and its fortifications to a heap of
ruins.[58]

669 The part played by the missionaries seems clear enough. They had not
created civil war. Fighting had been going on intermittently since 1797.[59]
797 They had, however, in establishing the new order that was emerging with
the widespread acceptance of Christianity, provided a model which allowed
the Tongans to fight out their differences albeit with additional and somewhat changed motives.

669 The day before the massacre Thomas chose Joshua v 13-15 as a text
when addressing a crowd of almost 2,000 people at Vava'u.[60] The passage
797 told of a heavenly figure who appeared to Joshua and his army just before
779 the siege of Jericho. The heavenly figure in the story revealed himself to Joshua as 'the captain of the host of the Lord', and it is probable that Thomas assured his hearers that the Lord would provide a similar guardian angel in these latter day assaults on Jericho. In the afternoon of the same day he chose Joshua x, which tells how Joshua responded to a call for help from the Gibeonites who were besieged by heathen foes.[61] In one of the bloodiest chapters in the Old Testament, the biblical historian tells how one after another of the heathen chiefs were set upon by Joshua and his army. The outcome of these battles was always the same and the repetition of the chorus monotonous: 'and Joshua smote them with the edge of the sword, and utterly destroyed all the souls that were therein, he let none

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[113] [56] Spinney to Committee, quoting his Journal, 28 Jan. 1837, WMMS (ANL, mf M145); Watkin to Secretaries, 24 Mar. 1837, ibid.; Tucker to Secretaries, 28 Jan. 1837, ibid.

[57] Ibid.

[58] Ibid.

[727] [175] [59] The fighting in 1799 was particularly bloody. A report from a London Missionary Society observer at the time spoke of 'heaps of [bodies] as large as the hull of the vessel . . . fifteen hundred or two thousand are lying upon one spot piled one upon another . . .'. ML, Hassall Papers, I, 66, CY A859.

[113] [60] Thomas, Journal, 22 Jan. 1837, WMMS (ANL, mf M160).

[61] Ibid.

643 battles.[10] His death marked the end of the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua
line.[11]

634 In May 1799 'Ulukālala and his army attacked Hihifo. An eye-
669 witness account by Vason, a renegade L.M.S. missionary living
175 under Mulikiha'amea, reported that it was a tough and bloody
battle in which the Hihifo army was forced to retreat, leaving
175 many of their warriors behind, dead. Some took refuge at a
634 sacred burial place in Pangai, believing that its sanctity would
protect them from violence. Fīnau 'Ulukālala then appealed to
669 Vason to set fire to the sanctuary and he complied, throwing a
726 fire brand into the thatch of a house in the enclosure, which
ignited and quickly spread. Many of those sheltering inside were
burnt to death or killed by Fīnau 'Ulukālala's men as they tried to
[727 escape. 'Ulukālala's men dragged the bodies to the beach 'and
after inflicting every brutal insult of savage cruelty, roasted and
266] ate them—thinking it was just revenge on their enemies to devour
them' (Orange 1840:175).

After he had defeated his opponents in Tongatapu in 1799,
175 and as a gesture of contempt and ridicule for the defeated party,
634 he and his half-brother, Tupouniua, set up a white pig in Hahake,
669 as Tu'i Kanokupolu, and one of his chiefs, Veahahake, as the
pig's representative (Blanc 1934:28) before proceeding to Ha'apai
[643] and Vava'u. In Ha'apai he crushed his opponents with utter
ruthlessness and made himself ruler of Ha'apai. Describing what
175 happened to his opponents in Ha'apai, Mariner recalled:

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> Some were sent on board old and useless canoes, which were then scuttled and immediately sunk; others were taken three or four leagues out to sea, and being put in old leaky ones, and tied hand and foot, were left gradually to meet their fate. Those against whom Finow entertained the greatest inveteracy were taken to the island of Lofanga,

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[10] Vason, who lived with Mulikiha'amea, revealed that an arrangement had previously been made, that upon Tuku'aho's death, Mulikiha'amea would become Tu'i Kanokupolu (Orange 1840:163).

[727] [11] The L.M.S. missionaries gave a vivid description of the horrors of this war. They recorded how they saw a warrior being killed and, 'a fellow who had severed his head and body asunder was exhibiting them as a proof of his prowess; and even some of the women, as they passed him dipped their hands in his blood, and licked them' (*Missionary Transactions*, 10 May 1799:288).

> and there tied naked to stakes driven in the ground, or to the trunks 175
> of trees and left to starve to death . . . Several of them bore their
> torments with the greatest fortitude, lingering till the eighth day, while 634
> others of weaker constitutions died in three or four days. (Martin 669
> 1827, 1:85-6)
> 727

From Ha'apai, 'Ulukālala and his warriors proceeded to Vava'u where after two weeks of sporadic fighting, the resistance collapsed 175 and the Tu'i Vava'u, Vuna III or Vuna Takitakimālohi, and his 634 chiefs, including one of Fīnau 'Ulukālala's own sons, Moengāngongo, who had sided with him, fled to Samoa. Fīnau 'Ulukālala 669 II had now become the ruler of both Ha'apai and Vava'u and from this time on the 'Ulukālala family assumed the title of Tu'i Vava'u. He made Tupouniua governor of Vava'u and Tupouto'a governor of Ha'apai. He then decided to move his residence to Ha'apai where he made preparation for further attacks on Tongatapu.

Meanwhile, in Tongatapu, the royalists determined to avenge what 'Ulukālala and his followers had done at Hihifo. In 1800 634 Vaha'i, one of the Ha'a Ngata Motu'a chiefs, and the strongest 669 chief on Tongatapu at the time, led the men of Hihifo in a war which is known as the Tau Fakalelemoa (battle of chasing fowls) 726 or Tau Langovaka (battle avenging defeat) (Collocott 1928:91). They marched from the west to the east of Tongatapu, defeating those who had supported Fīnau 'Ulukālala in 1799 everywhere they went. Vahe Loto, the centre of Tongatapu, was laid waste so that if ever Fīnau came back he would not be able to obtain provisions there. Houses were burnt down, and their inhabitants were driven into the sea to drown, or be slaughtered like chickens. At Poha, a mount between Hoi and Kolonga at Hahake, the 634 royalists made a great heap of the bodies of their enemies, 'by 669 being laid transversely upon each other, as a monumental trophy of the victory' (Orange 1840:186). They made it high enough for 727 them to be able to look at the island of 'Eua from the top of it. Then they built a fire round a huge stone, called Pitoi Tangata (human cooking stone). When it was red hot, they cut the human bodies open, roasted them on it and ate them in revenge.

Some of 'Ulukālala's men went to Tongatapu with Vason for supplies, and arrived just in time to witness the horror of the destruction and massacre of their former allies. They had to flee

634 for their lives, without provisions. On one of the islands off Tongatapu
they met Fīnau and his warriors. Joining him, they all sailed
669 for Tongatapu and landed at Hahake. There they observed the
727 shocking and sickening aftermath of the ravages perpetrated by
the royalists. They left Hahake to attack the royalists at Hihifo
634 and landed at Ma'ofanga, where they were joined by the people
of that place, and then marched on to Hihifo.

669 Fīnau 'Ulukālala found the royalists well fortified and firmly
726 entrenched, and, in the fierce battle which ensued, he was beaten
and driven back from Hihifo. He was then compelled to return to
Ha'apai, and for several years he made no further attempt to
invade Tongatapu on a large scale, contenting himself with a series
of surprise attacks, particularly at night. In these attacks, a few
unsuspecting victims would be killed, property hurriedly destroyed,
and the raiders would then quickly escape to their canoes, and sail
721 back to Ha'apai. It was not until the capture of the *Port-au-Prince*
in 1806, which brought an unexpected supply of guns as well as
713 the services of some of the crew of the ill-fated vessel, that another
major onslaught was made on Tongatapu.

Misery on Tongatapu was further intensified by the feuds
669 between the chiefs of its various districts who struggled for power
634 or tried to assert their independence. When Vaha'i died, two
prominent figures emerged, Teukava of Kolovai and Tākai of Pea,
628 both of whom had been closely associated with Vaha'i. The latter
had appointed Teukava as his successor at Polonga, Hihifo, and
ordered Tākai to build a fortress at Pea. Soon feuding broke out
between Tākai and Teukava.

In the meantime, Tupoumālohi, Tuku'aho's younger brother,
669 returned from Fiji where he had been for several years participating
643 in the fighting of the Fijian chiefs. He built Nuku'alofa as his
fortress and on the death of Ma'afu'olimuloa he succeeded to the
position of Tu'i kanokupolu. He found, however, that he had very
little influence among the chiefs, who wanted independence. The
threat from Tākai and his followers in the nearby fortress of Pea
compelled him to leave Nuku'alofa and join forces with Teukava.
Teukava was, however, defeated, killed and eaten by a Fijian
of Tākai's party at Te'ekiu. Tupoumālohi then left Tongatapu for
Ha'apai where he stayed with his nephew, Tupouto'a, son of

Tuku'aho, and half-brother of 'Ulukālala. He remained there until 669
his death, but before he died he voluntarily gave up the position 643
of *hau* in favour of his nephew, Tupouto'a.

This period of political turbulence was aggravated by the
contact with Europeans, which had an immense influence on the 177
affairs of Tonga. European goods, especially those made of iron, were highly prized by the Tongans, particularly the chiefs, who would ultimately obtain anything bought or stolen by the commoners. The appearance of the huge European vessels with their powerful guns, the display of their deadly pistols and other weapons, arrested the imagination of the Tongans, making their traditional fighting weapons appear clumsy and inefficient. The chiefs were quick to realise the advantages which these superior weapons could give them in their struggle for power, while the possession of European goods such as beads for ornaments, clothing and steel tools, brought much social prestige. Consequently, the chiefs were prepared to use every available means to obtain them.

The more the Tongans obtained European goods the more they desired them and determined to use drastic measures to
get them. In 1802, the Hihifo people of Tongatapu, with the help 721
of some sailors living among them, captured the American vessel,
Duke of Portland. Most of the crew were killed and a European [727]
woman named Eliza Mosey was taken by the chief Teukava of
Kolovai as one of his wives. Later, in 1804, Eliza managed to escape by swimming to the *Union*, which had called at Tonga and whose captain and some of the crew had been killed when they went ashore. Eliza Mosey informed the mate of these happenings and the rest of the crew escaped (Martin 1827, I:282; Blanc 1934:30).

Two years later, the *Port-au-Prince* arrived at Lifuka and was
captured by Fīnau 'Ulukālala II and his people. They murdered 727
the captain and most of the crew, but some were spared to show
Fīnau and his men how to use the guns, and the young ship's clerk,
William Mariner, was adopted by Fīnau as his son. Even before 563
this time there was a growing interest among the chiefs in having Europeans living with them, not only to assist in warfare but

569 because of their skills in making and repairing iron tools and,
more importantly, as interpreters between the two cultures.

With the guns of the *Port-au-Prince* and the services of the
634 Englishmen, Fīnau ’Ulukālala decided to launch another major
669 attack on Tongatapu. This new onslaught, in 1807, heralded a new
phase in the history of warfare in Tonga, more dangerous and
726 devastating than ever before. The fortress at Nuku’alofa was de-
177 stroyed in record time. With the support of artillery and muskets,
manned by Fīnau’s white captives, the Tongans with their spears,
[713] clubs and fire-brands in hand, burnt down the fortress, slaying its
men, women and children. Mariner recorded this destruction:

> When Finow arrived upon the place, and saw several canoes, which had been hauled up on the garrison, shattered to pieces by the shot, and discovered a number of legs and arms lying around, and about three hundred and fifty dead bodies, he expressed his wonder and astonishment at the dreadful effect of the guns. He then thanked his men for their bravery, and Mr Mariner and his companions in particular, for the great assistance rendered by them. (Martin 1827, I:98)

669 On the advice of the priests, the victors rebuilt the fortress and,
ignoring Mariner’s advice to launch a full-scale invasion of Tonga-
727 tapu, they engaged only in light skirmishes. As there was an acute
shortage of food due to civil war, some proposed killing the
669 prisoners and roasting them for food. ‘The proposal was readily
727 agreed to, by some, because they liked this sort of diet, and by
others because they wanted to try it thinking it a manly and
266 warlike habit’ (Martin 1827, I:108).

Meanwhile, Tākai of Pea, a member of the Ha’a Havea, was
669 the most powerful chief in Tongatapu at the time. He entered into
an alliance with ’Ulukālala, pretending to acknowledge his rule,
726 but immediately after the latter left for Ha’apai, Tākai and his
634 men destroyed the fortress which ’Ulukālala had rebuilt at Nuku-
’alofa. This greatly angered ’Ulukālala, but further troubles in
Ha’apai and Vava’u kept him occupied until his death in 1809.

The trouble in Vava’u and Ha’apai stemmed from a plot by
634 Tupouto’a, ’Ulukālala’s other half-brother, to avenge himself upon
Tupouniua who had murdered his father, Tuku’aho. Tupouniua
661 governed Vava’u on ’Ulukālala’s behalf and was a popular and

643 669 A few years before, he had named the little girl after his mother, Houmofaleono. When he lifted her up and kissed her goodbye, his gesture so moved the child's mother, who was watching, that she broke down and wept, and then sent a message to her brother Havealeta, saying that she had decided to accompany Tāufa'āhau to defend him. This impulsive action changed her brother's mind and he gave his allegiance to Tāufa'āhau and accompanied him, after persuading his sister to remain.[10] The 'Uhia people were also planning to assist Laufilitonga, and it was no easy decision for Malupō and his two warrior sons to make, for they were close kin of both Laufilitonga and Tāufa'āhau. However, when the latter arrived in person at 'Uiha to plead for their support, they finally decided with much reluctance to join him.

643 The final battle took place in 1826.[11] After Laufilitonga had acknowledged defeat, he was permitted to remain, as long as he agreed to cause no more trouble. However, he decided to go back to Vava'u with Fīnau 'Ulukālala who came for him (Blanc 1934:34). Later in 1827 he attended the installation of Aleamotu'a as Tu'i Kanokupolu in Tongatapu, and, in the same year, he himself was made Tu'i Tonga, and settled at Lapaha (Mu'a) until his death in 1865.

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643 669 701 [726] [553] [727] [103] [10] Among the men of Ha'afeva there was a warrior of outstanding calibre. At the heat of one skirmish in which Tāufa'āhau and some of his men were being overpowered, he intervened, and with a rare display of skill and courage, he and Tāufa'āhau ploughed their way through Laufilitonga's men, felling scores of them with their clubs, while the rest fled. Watching this warrior's heroic performance, Tāufa'āhau remarked that he was like a gigantic fish chasing a shoal of small fish. After the final victory, Tāufa'āhau bestowed upon him the name of Tu'uhetoka (standing in the face of defeat), gave him a sizeable portion of land at Lifuka, just alongside his own, and called it Ikalahi (big fish) in memory of his gallantry. Later the name Tu'uhetoka became a noble title and was given Ha'afeva as his *tofi'a* (inheritance).

[11] Wood (1932:43) states that 'there were two series of wars, in both of which Tāufa'āhau's chief opponent was Laufilitonga. The first series was before 1827 when Laufilitonga became Tu'i Toga, and the other consisted of fights after that date but particularly in 1832 and 1833.' The missionaries began their work in Ha'apai in 1830, and there is no evidence of any war in Ha'apai from their records since that date, except the destruction of the fortress of 'Uiha in 1833, although no fighting occurred there.

> not; and I therefore resolved in my mind to come and see this land. 643
> I found on my arrival that all I had heard previously was but a
> little thing compared with what I have seen since. I found that 797
> everything I had heard was perfectly true, and, like the Queen of the South, I found that only one-half had been told to me . . . And when I am sitting alone in any place, or when I lie down on my bed at night, my most ardent wish is that the people of my land were here to see all the great things that you have done, and to participate in my acknowledgements of your great kindness towards both me and them. (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 24 Dec. 1853)

His conversion to Christianity undoubtedly assisted him not only to achieve his ambition of welding his people together under a new political system but it helped to sustain and improve it. After his conversion he never looked back to the old gods. There were occasions of backsliding, but they were due to self-indulgence rather than to a deliberate return to his old religion. His interest in the study of the Bible grew, his literacy continued to improve, and his general experience of the wider world continually expanded.

The impingement of the missionary teachings on the career of Tāufa'āhau may be discerned from some of his actions subsequent to his acceptance of Christianity, which show that he was deeply
influenced by Christian ethics. When the rebellion in Vava'u was 643
put down in 1831, 'Ulukālala Tuapasi was determined to kill all 797
the ring-leaders, including his half-brother Lualala, who was their
leader. Only the timely intervention on their behalf by Peter Vī, 669
who was acting on instructions from Tāufa'āhau, saved their lives, 727
for he pleaded that they should not be killed, as this was contrary to Christian teachings, but should instead be expelled from the country.

Another occasion for clemency was when Matekitonga, son of Fīnau 'Ulukālala Tuapasi, being angered at King George's refusal to make him ruler of Vava'u, joined the rebels at Pea in 1852. After his eventual capture, the chiefs and warriors of Vava'u were so incensed by his treachery that they urged King George to kill him, but the King merely told them that Matekitonga had acted foolishly and granted him a pardon. He was allowed to return to Vava'u with the warning that he must cause no further trouble.

At the end of the war in 1852, all the rebel chiefs—the Ha'a

643 Havea—his father's formidable enemies, were forgiven and were
permitted to return to their respective places. When they tried
797 to thank him for this magnanimous gesture, he told them to
669 express gratitude to God instead, for if it were not for Him they
•727 would all have been killed (Farmer 1855:408). Practically all
of them were made nobles after the constitution was promulgated
in 1875.

It may be argued that Tāufa'āhau saw political advantages in
643 granting pardons to his opponents, and that his so-called clemency
797 was merely a sham. If this were so, it would be difficult to under-
stand his refusal to get rid of Matekitonga when the chiefs and
669 warriors of Vava'u demanded it. There can be no doubt that
727 the clemency he showed to his enemies proved politically advan-
tageous, and probably he foresaw this, but the fact remains that
661 he himself attributed his actions to his Christian faith.

Benevolence was another characteristic which owed much to
643 missionary influence. Once his authority was secure he showed
797 genuine care for the welfare of the people. Dr Lyth, the first
medical missionary to Tonga, told him in 1838 about the need
[743] for a building to house the sick people brought in from various
islands; he immediately promised his warm and full support for
the project (Lyth, Journal, 2 April 1838). Convinced that
Christianity was the best way of life for his people, he himself
became not merely an evangelist, but also a crusader, in order to
[871] hasten conversion. He gave his full support for the promotion of
education. He also led the campaign to emancipate the com-
[565] moners from the absolute and arbitrary rule of the chiefs and
[641] promoted the notion of the equality of all men in the eyes of
the law. Later he bequeathed the revenue from the lease of Crown
[657] lands to provide free medical treatment and free education for
all his subjects.

At the same time, King George recognised that religious con-
643 viction and mere piety without hard labour would achieve little
797 in the promotion of the general welfare of his people. Accordingly
461 he exhorted them to work diligently. The following speech was
reported to have been given by him at a *fono* at Neiafu, Vava'u,
in 1833 when the people had moved there from their villages to
be close to the missionaries for religious instruction and medical

797 tion that a victory for the Tu'i Kanokupolu and King George and
their new religion would mean an end to their arbitrary powers
643 over their subjects and deprive them of their privileges. They were
669 probably confident of their own strength, remembering how both
798 Fīnau 'Ulukālala and Tupouto'a, with their warriors from the
northern groups, had failed to defeat them at the beginning of the
565 century. The heathen chiefs were thus firmly resolved to halt the
spread of Christianity, and, if need be, to fight, in order to
protect both their religion and their political independence.

669 It has been alleged that the war between the heathens and Christians, which broke out in 1837, was a purely religious conflict.
798 Basil Thomson (1894:350-1), who took this view, stated:

> It was a missionary war—a crusade in which the club and the Bible were linked against the powers of darkness; and no knight-errant ever went against the Crescent with greater zest than the new converts showed in their quarrel with their heathen countrymen.

This over-simplified view of a complex situation completely fails to take into account the underlying power struggle, which was much older and more basic than the religious issues which appeared on the surface to have precipitated this war.

669 The war began on 8 January 1837. The heathens chose the Sabbath day on which to attack, thinking the Christians would
726 not defend themselves, but they were proved mistaken. According to Watkin, who was an eye witness, the Christian fortress was well guarded, and the attackers were easily driven off, although two of the Christians were wounded. Watkin (Journal, 11 Jan. 1837) wrote, 'They [the heathens] have therefore actually commenced the war, and God will I trust vindicate his own cause'. King George waited till the following day, then led his men to attack the nearest heathen fortress of Ngele'ia which had been built by Lualala with the assistance of the chiefs of Pea. When they came in sight of the fortress, he called his men around him to give them their orders, and before they launched their attack, they prayed together 'and felt (according to their own expression) just as when the revival of religion broke out' (Rabone, Journal, 17 Jan. 1837).
[727] In the surprise attack that followed all twenty-six warriors in the fortress were killed, 'among whom were some of the greatest

persecutors in Tonga, and many of the relatives of Lavaka [one 669
of the leading chiefs of the Ha'a Havea] who is chief promoter [726]
of the present war' (Watkin, Journal, 11 Jan. 1837).

News of this victory reached the mission headquarters in Vava'u, [727]
but it was also learned that in spite of this set-back the heathens were determined to continue their resistance and gave no signs of easy surrender. Thomas, who received news of the encounter, wrote in February 1837:

> Tonga has stood out against God for many years. They prefer darkness to light, because their deeds are evil. The obstinate unbelief of the Jews was the cause of their being destroyed by tens of thousands if not hundreds of thousands. It is very painful to see our dear people taken away from their peaceable dwellings—from their wives and families and parents to go to war, and yet so satisfied are the people of the goodness of their cause. They are most willing to leave all and to go both to suffer and to die if God requires them in his good cause. We have heard nothing for the last three weeks, but hope all is well, and God will continue to interfere in behalf of his cause. (Thomas to Committee, 2 Feb. 1835, WMMS 1822-55)

The missionaries were anxiously awaiting news of a settlement of the war, for they wanted an early peace, though not a peace at any price. Rabone (Journal, 21 Jan. 1837) wrote, 'we begin to feel anxious to hear again from Tonga . . . they are at war if so some will fall on both sides. O may the Lord speedily interpose and give the victory in favour of our Israel.'

On Sunday, 15 January, a week later, the heathens decided to 669
destroy the Christians' plantations thinking that they would not 726
guard their gardens on the Sabbath. Again they were proved wrong for, while they were busily engaged in this destruction, the Christian warriors rushed upon them and pursued them right to the gates of Pea itself, killing nine and wounding many others. [727]
The Christians suffered the loss of one man and another was seriously wounded and died later. The next day, the Christians burned a sacred canoe and took the small fortress of Te'ekiu (Watkin, Journal, 12 Feb. 1837).

King George's next attack was centred upon the fortress of 669
Hule which was Tu'ivakanō's fortress, from which he had been 726
forced to flee. Tu'ivakanō had appealed to King George to destroy 643

669 the fortress and wipe out his opponents. The King offered the
726 leaders of Hule terms of surrender, but they refused and the fortress was stormed on 25 January. About three hundred men,
643 women and children were killed, Tu'ivakanō himself and his fol-
[727] lowers playing a leading part in this massacre.

It is interesting to note the more ruthless and aggressive stand
669 taken by King George during this war. In these two encounters the
power struggle was approaching its peak. Lualala had left Vava'u
643 and allied himself with the Ha'a Havea chiefs. The apparent intentions of this dangerous alliance must have awakened in him the old savagery and fighting spirit which had lain dormant for several years to such an extent that they momentarily overshadowed the Christian influence on his actions and life. Later in the 1840 war when he and his warriors besieged Kolovai, King George told his men:

> Our late war with the heathen, three years ago, was by the mercy of God, a victorious one. But, though we got the victory, in some things we went astray. We fought not as Christians should fight. Our object then was not to save, but to destroy. But you all now present, hear from me, that we do not so fight again. If, as may be expected, the enemy should come out of their fortress to-morrow morning, let every man endeavour to seize and save his man, and not one to shoot or strike, but in case of life and death. (Farmer 1855:317)

However, the serious threat which the heathen opposition posed not only to his own future, but to the future of monarchical authority and the rule of law, and also to his newly adopted religion, must all have spurred him on to crush the rebellion with ruthless vigour.

669 The missionaries did not condemn the indiscriminate slaughter
727 of the inhabitants of Hule. They regarded it as a divine judgment
—an inevitable consequence of the sinfulness of the heathens.
797 When the news of the massacre reached Vava'u, Rabone (Journal, 14 Feb. 1837) wrote, 'It does indeed appear that the Tonga heathen are given up to a reprobate mind and are bent upon their own destruction, for they have positively refused to "Lotu", and madly prefer dying in their sins'. While the missionaries boasted about the willingness of their converts to die for their faith they

saw no merits whatsoever in the determination of the heathens 669
to die for theirs.

Several months later, when Rabone himself passed through 727
Hule on a trip from Hihifo to Nuku'alofa, he wrote: 798

> Hule is the place in which so many lost their lives when King George with his people attacked and destroyed their fortress this took place early in February last, and yet the bones of many are to be seen dried under the sun. I counted 12 skulls in a circumference of 3 square yards. Scores have been buried but many remain as visible mark of God's displeasure against sin—this was an awfully wicked fortress, but judgement has overtaken them and there scarcely remains one that escaped. (Rabone, Journal, 27 Sept. 1837)

Further skirmishes occurred and on 8 February Pea was again 669
attacked, with the loss of thirteen heathens and three Christians.
Meanwhile King George sent for reinforcements from Vava'u. 726
Referring to this new call up, Rabone (Journal, 16 Feb. 1837) wrote that if he understood it correctly, the intention was to make 'a desperate attack upon the Heathen who positively refuse to "lotu" or to turn to God without they do this there is no ground of hope for their being better subjects or in any respect'. At any rate, 200 or more men left Vava'u in four canoes in February with Rabone's prayer, 'O Lord do thou undertake for thy people and speedily bring the war to an end' (Rabone, Journal, 18 Feb. 1837).

Indeed, the war was speedily brought to an end, for with the 200 or more men as reinforcements, the heathens lost heart and
ceased their offensive. King George was then able to extract from 669
them a promise to desist from further persecution of Christians as 728
a condition for peace. Although Aleamotu'a and King George were in a winning position, they did not wish to continue the war, thus supporting the missionaries' contention that the war was largely fostered by the heathen chiefs.

In April the warriors from the north returned to their respective places. Rabone (Journal, 12 April 1837) gave an account of the welcome back to Vava'u:

> We went down to welcome them back the sight was to me very affecting & interesting, . . . We indeed were glad to see them, and more especially when as soon as they spoke they attributed their

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
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[1837]

an immediate attack on the outskirts of Nuku'alofa; they were observed by 669
sentries before the attack could be carried out. Aleamotu'a had been on the 643
defensive but the situation changed with the arrival of the army from the north 778
which set out to punish the enemy. This they did with horrible severity.

On 9 January, as Taufa'ahau and his warriors were sailing past the rebel fort at Ngele'ia, near the beach and not far from Ma'ofanga, the defenders of the fort heaped curses on him. In Tongan custom this constituted an insufferable [576]
insult against a chief, and Taufa'ahau reacted violently. On the day following
the cursing, he mustered his army and called them to prayer before the assault 669
on the fort. When they rose from their knees Taufa'ahau addressed them, 643

> "and told them that he had not sought to be engaged in this war, but the Lord had evidently led him to it in defence of his cause, and that, as they were about to engage, no man was to fear".(15) 721 778 [782] [776]

Rabone recorded in his journal (16) that when Taufa'ahau's men prayed before [781]
the attack, "they felt (according to their own expressions) just as when the revival of religion broke out". It was another evidence of fanaticism.

All inside Ngele'ia were slaughtered. One account gave 26 as the number, another 40, and these included women and children. Most of them were the people of Lavaka, the chief of Pea, who was absent from Ngele'ia because of illness, and who was "the chief promoter of the present war".(17) The missionaries' disapproval of this tragic event was rather mildly expressed. Hobbs wrote,

> "Why the king should order all to be killed I cannot say; when we heard of it we were very sorry that the women and children were not spared. Bro. Watkin entreated the king to spare the women and children in case that they (the king's army) should destroy the men of the fortress." (18)

Further statements by Hobbs do nothing to reduce the disgrace of Ngele'ia:

> "Taufa'ahau was most remarkable for sparing those he overcame in war, and on three former occasions not a single person was put to death when he conquered their fortresses. He has, however, been heard to say lately that he was tired of sparing those who used him ill, and that some of these whose lives would most certainly have been taken but for his interference in days of old, now were among the first to curse and execrate him, and blaspheme the name of the Most High, so that he would now serve them according to their deserts. . . . The people also say that the women here (Ngele'ia) were as bad as the men, especially in their curses and aggravating expressions." (19)

The heads of some of those slain at Ngele'ia were sent to Aleamotu'a by [727]
Taufa'ahau, in accordance with pre-Christian customs in warfare.(20) This barbarous incident as well as the deaths of women and children at Ngele'ia reflected sadly upon the character of Taufa'ahau as a professing Christian of some six years' standing, even allowing for his imperious will and his sharp resentment of insults.

On another Sabbath, 15 January, the gardens of the Nuku'alofa people were despoiled. Some of the defenders were on the watch and rushed out, pursuing the rebels almost as far as the fort of Pea and killing nine. Soon afterwards, a small fort at Te'ekiu, in Hihifo, was captured by Taufa'ahau's army, with only one defender killed.

On 25 January the most sanguinary episode of the war occurred. This was 669
the sacking of the rebel fort at Hule, near Nukunuku. It was occupied by those 643
who had driven out their chief, Tu'ivakano. Hobbs wrote that it had been "for a 721
long time a nursery of persecution and rebellion".(20) Before the attack, 727

> "George told his men that they had not come from Ha'apai and Vava'u to possess Tonga but because the cause of Christianity was being persecuted." (21) 778

[1837]

669 A call for surrender was first made, with an offer of pardon for all persons within
643 the fort. When this was refused, the whole of the 300 inhabitants of Hule, men,
721 women and children, were killed.

727 Taufa'ahau was said to have been affected by finding that there had been
798 a plot to ambush him on his way to Hule, and also that he was angered by seeing his brother fall, it was thought, mortally wounded, at the opening of the attack against Hule.(22) These things were irrelevant to the fact of the indiscriminate slaughter, as described by Watkin,

> "Hule was taken and sacked, with a tremendous number of persons perishing after offers of mercy had been rejected and derided, and the chief (Taufa'ahau) dared to do his worst." (23)

The dispossessed chief of Nukunuku, Tu'ivakano, with his followers, took a leading part in the carnage; their desire for revenge could not be an excuse. Taufa'ahau, in charge of operations, bore the main responsibility in any case.
669 Rabone, reporting from Vava'u, made these callous comments:

> 643 "Most awful news. Not less than 300 men, women and children have been murdered in
> 721 the taking of the fort at Hule. . . . It does appear that the Tongan heathen are given up to a reprobate mind and are bent upon their own destruction for they have positively
> 727 refused to lotu (= worship) and madly preferred dying in their sins." (24)

797 To some of the missionaries the slaughter had been "a visible mark of God's
798 displeasure against sin". Rabone wrote that Hule had been "an awfully wicked fortress but judgement has overtaken them".(25) Such statements are incomprehensible to us today.

Tucker, who referred to the war as a rebellion against Alcamotu'a with the design of expelling him, commented on 28 January:

> "We hope that the Lord will interpose on behalf of the besotted and deluded heathen that they will submit to lawful authority and no longer persecute the followers of Jesus Christ." (26)

He had not heard about the horrors of Hule when he wrote this. However, he was conscious of the fanaticism that gravely affected Taufa'ahau in this period. On 22 March 1837, Tucker wrote that Taufa'ahau had told him that —

> "he had no intention whatever when marching to Hule to destroy men, women and children but gave orders to spare them; but in a moment it came into his mind to put all to the sword — he said he believed it was a just judgement of God upon the people of that place." (27)

Watkin's comment does not palliate the offence —

> "The heathen have indicated that they would show no mercy. This fact induced the Christians to show no quarter on one or two occasions during the war, and which I deeply regret." (28)

After making every allowance for the complicated causes of the war and the prevailing excitement, the sacking of Hule is the most deplorable section of Tonga's history since Christianity entered the islands.

797 John Thomas, the chairman of the mission, commented, on 15 January, when he received the first news of the fighting in Tongatapu,

> "The news is very distressing. We had hoped there would have been no war." (29)

Nevertheless, his journal and letters show how he had compromised himself and how he was affected by Old Testament incidents. Writing to his parents on 2 February, he said,

> "We would have preferred the conversion and not the death of the heathen. They have preferred darkness to light 'because their deeds are evil'. The obstinate unbelief of the

[1837]

> Jews was the cause of their being destroyed by tens of thousands if not hundreds of thousands. It is very painful to see our dear people taken away from their peaceful dwellings to go to war and yet so satisfied of the goodness of their cause. . . . We have heard nothing for the last three weeks. but hope all is well, and God will continue to interpose on behalf of His cause."(30) 797

When, after writing this, he received news of the shocking slaughter at Hule, one would have expected a reaction of horror. However, it seemed as if he was obsessed with the comparison with Israel's victories. On 19 February he preached from Judges 5: 31, "So let thine enemies perish, O Lord, but let them that love thee be as the sun when it goeth forth in his might".(31) His comment on Hule, on 24 February, was,

> "Those who set themselves against the Lord and his anointed had been so utterly overcome that the people in eight or ten other forts had fled before any attack."(32)

At Pea there was no repetition of the fighting at Hule. Rabone wrote on 669
21 February, 798

> "Our people would have taken the fortification but received orders from the king (Taufa'ahau) not to do so."(33)

Again he wrote, on 3 March,

> "King George is waiting with uncommon patience to know their determination."(34)

A truce prevented a conflict at Pea.

Another non-Christian centre, Ma'ofanga, was treated drastically. Both Thomas and Rabone referred to the destruction of the sacred grove at Ma'ofanga by Taufa'ahau's army. The trees were cut down, some used as firewood for cooking food, and pieces of others brought back to Vava'u as trophies. Rabone remarked that in former times the mere touching of these trees was believed to cause death.(35) The Christians felt that their action exposed the falsity of heathen claims for the grove, but it added to the anger of those who still venerated these places.

A special allegation against Taufa'ahau came from a son of Charles Simonet, 669
the deserter from D'Urville's ship in 1827. The younger Simonet, about fifty 643
years later, declared that Taufa'ahau had brutally beaten to death a girl at Hule 727
with the butt-end of his musket when the elder Simonet, who was present, had refused to kill her.(36) The source of this allegation makes it suspect, especially when made so many years after the war of 1837. Taufa'ahau had been responsible for enough barbarity that year without having this inhuman act also charged against him.

From the same source came a story that the bodies of slain rebels were 669
placed by the victors outside the missionary Watkin's house at Nuku'alofa.(37) 727
There was no truth in this. It seems to have been a confusion with the fact that 797
the heads of rebels were placed outside Aleamotu'a's house after the sacking of Ngele'ia.

Thomas still showed a strange insensitiveness as when reporting the events 669
of the war to the Committee in London, on 19 April 1837 — 798

> "The war is now ended. The heathen have been made to know that they are but bad men and that the Lord reigneth. A few hundred have fallen amongst the heathen and a number of our people have been killed but they have died in a good cause. We shall now, I judge, gain access to the whole of Tonga (= Tongatapu). King George is conqueror but he gives all the praise to the Lord."(38) 797

In April Thomas came from Vava'u and visited the non-Christian chiefs, Fatu at Mu'a, Ma'afu at Vaini, and Ata at Hihifo. He found them, he said,

[1840]

The arrival of Taufa'ahau relieved Fo'ui, and this was followed by his offer of 643
peace to Ata. The reply was that Taufa'ahau himself should enter Kolovai, the 669
rebel fortress, for these discussions and should take with him only a very few 798
followers. Before he could do this a deserter from Kolovai came with the news that a plot had been made to kill Taufa'ahau as soon as he entered the fort. Subsequently Ata admitted that this was true.(64)

It was under these circumstances that Taufa'ahau and his men advanced against Kolovai, but forbore to attack it at once. He addressed his men with these words:

> "We did wrong in the last war" (1837) "when we did not fight as Christians; then our object was more to kill than to save. Now, I tell you all that we must not fight in that way again. If the enemy come out of their fort to-morrow morning, every man must try to seize and save them, but not to shoot or strike, except in a case of life or death." (65)

During the siege the mission-house, which had been built by Thomas in 1826 and
stood outside the Kolovai fort, was burnt by the rebels. For more than a fortnight
after the siege began no attack was made. Taufa'ahau sent messages to Ata 643
making it clear that no one was obliged to accept Christianity and only peace itself 669
was desired. At last he told his men to invite any of their relatives or friends within 798
the fort to leave. So many accepted this invitation that, when the besieged moved 725
forward to the attack, the reduced garrison surrendered immediately and opened
the gate. All the 500 defenders of Kolovai, together with their property, were 643
spared. On 29 February, three days after the surrender, Rabone visited Ata and 669
his wife; he reported, 798

> "They appeared to feel their situation but are thankful for their lives, for well they [727]
> know that, had George been still heathen, few of them would have been alive this day." (66)

The rebels still at arms at Pea and elsewhere numbered 1,400. Taufa'ahau's army was 900 strong. As the rebels, especially at Pea, were still defiant and Aleamotu'a's position was far from secure, Taufa'ahau remained in Tongatapu. Travellers along the roads and men working in their gardens were frequently ambushed and killed by parties from the fort at Pea.

The next important event was the visit of Commodore Charles Wilkes, of 177
the United States Exploring Expedition, who arrived at Nuku'alofa with two 643
ships of his squadron on 24 April 1840. Upon his arrival Rabone and Tucker 669
went on board his ship, *Vincennes*, and discussed the unsettled state of Tongatapu 728
with him. "He expressed an earnest desire to make peace between the contending parties," Tucker said. The following day the Commodore and officers came ashore and met Aleamotu'a and Taufa'ahau with their chiefs. Wilkes remarked on the martial appearance of the whole party and thought it inconsistent with a desire for peace. He could hardly be expected to know the typical Tongan habit of making a good showing before visitors; but he was told that, in fact, an attack had been made by the rebels the night before and that preparations were on foot to repel any further attack, hence the appearance of Taufa'ahau's forces.

The Commodore brought a written document which proposed a meeting between the leaders of both parties, and the two kings agreed to this. Rabone, however, thought the American visitor too sanguine through his ignorance of the state of affairs:

> "No one who heard him (except it may be his officers) believes for a moment that the heathen chiefs would meet Josiah and George." (67)